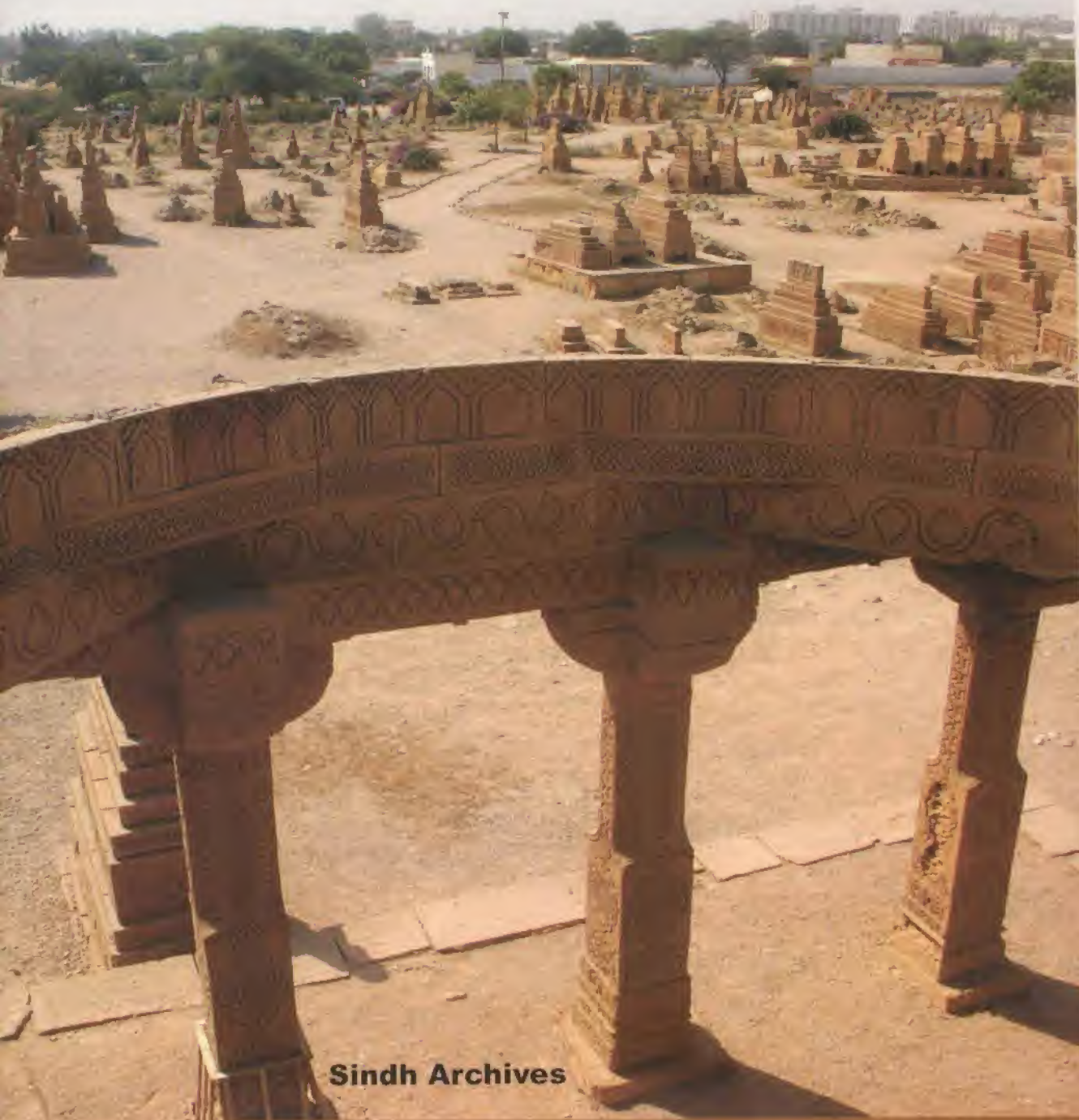


A STUDY OF STONE CARVED GRAVES

KALEEMULLAH LASHARI



Sindh Archives

The funeral structures of tribal people in Kohistan of Sindh and Baluchistan are strange and wear a novel look. There is no denying the fact that burying dead has always been a religious ritual, and it is also true that the religions are persistently conformists in all such practices. Then what made these people to break away from the general prevalent trend, and construct graves, which are in separate class of their own?

These pieces of art must not have been possible to grow abruptly out of the desolate landscape. There must have been some cultural roots making it possible. The design of the graves is unique and the decoration applied on these is a special feature. Visitors crowd the sites of such graveyards and the bewitching beauty captivates all and sundry, but their questions remain unanswered.

There was a need to study these structures comprehensively, and this book takes into account all major aspects of the subject, with a clear picture of traditional society, as a backdrop. Hundreds of drawings and pictures will help in understanding the structural development and evolution in decorative motifs. A long list of graveyards and many genealogical charts are valuable aid to research scholars, who may find good reasons to probe further into the tribal history. There was an increasing demand for such a work. The readers will appreciate the results of the research of many years and will also find it an engrossing reading.



A Study of Stone Carved Graves

Kaleemullah Lashari

SINDH ARCHIVES

All rights of author are reserved

Author: Kaleemullah Lashari

ISBN: 978-969-9310-06-5

Second Edition: February 2012

First Edition: 1996

Composing &

Proofreading: Aamir Raz Soomro

Layout: Piar Graphics & Printing, Karachi

Published by: Sindh Archives
Information & Archives Department,
Government of Sindh
ST 26-A, Block-5, Scheme-5, Main Clifton,
Karachi.

Printed by: Kachho Publication, Karachi. 0300-2879794

Price: Rs. 600



Message

It is an established fact that the dynamic societies always take steps to protect/save their national heritage, especially the antiquities, the historical records and take measures for their preservation; it is also our endeavor to work in the interest of public. So no sooner did I take the charge of my office, I directed the Archives to resume and complete the work on important projects on priority basis, which has been pending for a long time.

It gives me pleasure to state that I do not only feel it as my obligation, but also that interests me most to work on the re-strengthening of it.

I am taking now my personal interest to Sindh Archives by establishing the Sindh Archives at district level, so that the scattered records and source material of our social history, references to heritage, antiquities and writings of historical nature and important correspondence that requires to be preserved/saved, not only our efforts should be forced to but also we may make approach of the common masses to this treasure easy. So that scholars, as well as students may benefit from rich source material, according to their requirement.

I am also making efforts for the provision of quality service as per the demands of the modern times, so that the resources can be provided to the researchers and scholars easily and effectively taking advantage of digital advancement.

It is a matter of great pleasure for me to state that specialists in the field and scholars like Dr. Kaleemullah Lashari, Dr. Abdul Gaffar Soomro, Dr. Muhammad Idress Soomro and others are helping Sindh Archives in their endeavors.

There is no denying the fact that the staff of Sindh Archives and especially its Director Mr. Roshan Ali Kanasro is working hard to complete the task that is assigned. I am thankful to them for their enthusiasm and commitment.

Engineer Muhammad Rafique
Provincial Minister



DEDICATION

In appreciation of the help and unfailing assistance rendered, throughout these long and tiring years of extensive field work, I dedicate this study to Dr. Asma Ibrahim. This humble effort is no way a match to her enthusiasm, which made this work possible.

CONTENTS

| | |
|-----------------------------|-----|
| Foreword | 7 |
| Acknowledgment | 10 |
| Emergence of the Grave | 11 |
| Architecture | 33 |
| The Decoration | 47 |
| The Structure | 103 |
| The Graveyards | 185 |
| Site of Stone Carved Graves | 197 |
| The Genealogical Record | 201 |
| Tables | 209 |
| Notes and References | 237 |
| The Decoration | 242 |
| The Structure | 243 |
| Bibliography | 245 |

Foreword

Emergence of funeral architecture of unusual beauty in Kohistan of Sindh and Balochistan is termed as a strange event. The arid region, with scanty resources, has compelled its dwellers to resort to a nomadic way of life. Away from the urban settlements, where empires rose and fell, princes came and went, various trends altered to suit the changing political scenario, the conditions with the tribal people remained, more or less, the same.

With the local Summas at throne, these tribes maintained minimum contact. The pride of belonging to royal stock, more nearer to the legendary Jam Jadam, than the Summas, and having pastures to themselves, they preferred to live away from the circumstances which may make them to obey others.

Subsequent political changes estranged these tribes even more from the power centres. Arghun/Turkhan came to occupy Sindh in place of Summas; later, Mughals replaced them. Political upheavals and material changes went on taking place, new trends came and were followed by others, but the Kohistan remained least effected. No benefits of development or enrichment of civilisation could fell to their lot. The peculiar terrain, which even today is difficult to traverse, helped them to shy away from undesired aliens and unwanted changes. Their isolation was complete.

The funeral structure of these tribal people are strange and wear a novel look, from all other graves present in the adjacent areas, even though belonging to similar historic phase/periods.

There is no denying the fact that the burying dead has always been a religious ritual and it is also true that the religions are persistently conformists in all such practices. Then, what made these people to break away from the general prevalent trend, and construct graves, which are in separate class of their own.

These pieces of art must not have been possible to grow abruptly out of the desolate landscape. There must have been some cultural roots making it possible.

Years ago, I fell in love with these finely sculpted graves and that spell prompted present study. I tried to learn about the mysterious circumstances under which these graves were constructed. It was clear to me that in this world of cause and effect it was simply not for any person to decide all of a sudden without any reason to bury their dead under such strange structures about which nothing was

heard before. What possibly were the events behind this abrupt change?

Absence of written sources made the inroads in local history very difficult. Oral traditions present among the tribes, suffered the unsystematic mode of preservation. It distorted very base on which any event rested, as no time frame or even a vague reference to it was given. It became difficult to identify similar event told at another place, nor it was easy to differentiate between the similar names of the persons living several generations apart.

It is a curious fact that the design of the graves is unique by all measures. Along with it the decoration applied on these graves is a special feature. Although the tradition of stone carving is very strong in adjoining eastern states of Gujrat, yet the combination of patterns practiced here is no way usual.

There is no doubt that the Summa period in Sindh shows dominance of stone as a major medium of construction. Its developed form, and the specimen from regions of Cutch point to the possibility that pre-Summan period in Sindh also had produced some structures made out of stone.

But it is unfortunate that we have not many dated specimen of that era available to us, to have profound understanding of the methodology of the master builder.

The historical records show that people of *Kohistan* had trade links with nearby cities of Sehwan and Thatta but did this contact ever was enlarged to bigger dimensions to have some impact upon physical culture.

Mazhar-e-Shahjehani, a history of Mughal period leaves very little room for doubt about the minimum contact established through barter of livestock and bare necessities, coarse cloth, etc. The mutual distrust and continuous raids by the nomads on settled population, for any feeling of unjust dealing is ample indicator to judge the extent of relationship, which was necessarily limited to bare minimum.

Whatever might have happened at the urban centres and at the places where power was based, it surely had a very little influence on the hinterlands, occupied by the semi-nomadic tribes.

Thus the search for the possible force behind these graves was not made easy through the available sources of information.

The structure itself was thought to lead out of this enigma and to some positive conclusions. It was, therefore, decided:

To read and record the names and allied information inscribed on the graves.

To collect the oral traditions and try to sift and put these to some sequence in order to be able to suggest possible course of events.

To construct genealogical trees of major families, with the help of oral traditions and the information received through inscriptions.

To study the structure itself and variations occurring in its shape for the understanding of its evolution.

To read the decorative patterns and its various combinations and study their relationship with the progress of time.

And to look for any mark, left by the masons, for possible cross check with the dated structures.

It was expected that the information collected in the manner may help not only in forming the idea of popular social trends but can also help to measure the possible under currents mobilising the vigorous tribesmen to actively patronize and help create this unique structure.

To achieve the laid out objectives, it was required to carry out extensive field work. As the area was vast, conditions uninviting and not much information available about overwhelming number of graveyards, it took years of sheer hard work to make this study a possibility.

The reader is neither burdened with the long discussion of technical issues, nor with unrequired details.

The study is divided into various chapters, dealing with distinct aspects separately. It is expected to open new avenues of understanding and will help begin an era of research over the interesting history and rich traditions of these semi-nomadic tribes.

There have been many articles regarding these graves, still the subject matter was long overdue for a comprehensive treatment. No study was available which had dealt the multifaceted topic at length. There existed demand for such publication among serious readership as well as tourists, who so often find themselves bewitched with the beauty of the stone carved graves, but find no answers to their searching queries.

In view of these facts, Dr Asma Ibrahim, co-editor of *The Archaeological Review*, considered it appropriate to publish it as monograph in one of the issues of the Journal for the benefit not only of our regular readers but also to meet the general demand. I could do nothing but agree.

Thus, it is appearing as a *Special Issue* of the Journal.

Acknowledgement

The study was spread to a fairly long period and still larger area; thus, the author came in contact with many persons of various tribes, some of them associated themselves with the work to the extent that they seemed to form a part of field staff. Late Haji Mohammad Ibrahim Kalmati of Dhabeji remained attached, till he was incapacitated by an unfortunate illness. Master Mohammad Hussain Jokhio was also of immense help and an eager supporter of the cause. His keen interest in the tribal history of the Jokhias was the main source of his active participation in the field tours, despite his old age. Mr Hamza Khan himself, a student of Kalmati history remained involve in search of clues to the tribal traditions. He always was ready to join the exploratory tours and exchange the information. Mr Pir Mohammad Kalmati undertook long tours to Mekran in search of tribal traditions and poetry. His knowledge of the genealogy of some clans of Kalmati remained available for this study. Many Kalmati elders, including the present Malik, Malik Luqman, co-operated as and when asked. Similarly, the Jam of Jokhia, Jam Murad Ali always was ready to co-operate.

Mr Faiz Mohammad Kalmati, Haji Mohammad Sodho Baghiar, Mr Mohammad Ishaq Kalmati were also always keen to help. Many of the personal friends of the author rendered helping hand at one time or the other. Appreciating the enthusiastic involvement of the author, they made offers of co-operation in every possible way. The charting of survey results, the means of cataloguing the publication of results of the work.... No matter whatever was the aspect, they were all eager to support. Mr Adnan Asdar Ali, Mir Gul Hameed Ghanchi and Mr Yousuf Moulvi were at the forefront in offering any possible assistance, whether be it physical help or financial undertaking.

It is not possible to name them all. The author feels that each one of them made a positive contribution to this study, in one way or the other, their co-operation is acknowledged herewith.

The designs appearing on page 18 and 19 are taken from Mohammad Raza Hunervar's (رسم المشق تذهيب اسليمي) and the *Illumination Models*, and the photograph used on page 34 is of Smithsonian Institute, the drawing of the grave of Subuktagin, appearing on page 129 is drawn by the author, after S. Flury's Ghazni.

This book has since long been out of print, and it is acknowledged that the Sindh Archives considered brining its second edition. The gracious consideration of Advocate Muhammad Rafiq Engineer and care of Mr Roshan Ali Kanasro, Director, Sindh Archives is brought on record.

Emergence of the Grave

There are clusters of the beautiful structures scattered throughout arid areas of Sindh and Balochistan and adjoining coastal belt. The sandstone carved graves, under shining sun present a very interesting view. High relief carving of bold geometric motifs and perfect renderings of floral designs, with interplay of light and shade, completely disarm the onlookers. Scholars as well as the laymen, stand captivated, wondering how these structures were made possible at such desolate places; who were those people who made such incredible graves and carved them and where did they vanish?

It is a strange fact that these graveyards are the only remains, coming to us from the past, there is yet to be found any settlement, which could be dubbed as the dwelling place of people, who loved beauty in death also.

These graveyards are now famous with the names not necessarily from the relevant periods of local history. For example, Tonda graveyard near village Wadera Wali Mohammad, graveyard of Jungshahi, Bhavani Sarai graveyard, Pir Mazno graveyard, Raj Malik, Taung and Hinidan graveyards are mere names, acquiring fame due to their geographical locations.

Absence of required information, led to many misconception to get roots and gave a name to all stone carved graves of this curious shape: 'Chaukhandi graves'.

By Chaukhandi, Henry Cousens meant all stone graves found between Hyderabad and Karachi.² Similar view is expressed by the German lady Salome Zjadacz-Hastenrath, who has worked extensively on these graveyards.³

Mumtaz Hasan has discussed the word on linguistic grounds, he says, "In Sindhi language Chaukhandi means four corners or four pillars. *Chaw* meaning four and *Khund* or *Kand* means a corner or a pillar marking a corner".⁴ Syed Hakim Ali Shah Bukhari has also discussed it in similar vein, he considers Chaukhandi to be a grave with four corners, as well as the grave under the canopy supported



Stone-carved graves are also interesting due to their extraordinary structures Chaukundi Graveyard. Malir

by the pillars.⁵ He also refers to it as the Persian word which means carved on all four sides or a dug out pit. Bashir Ahmed Jokhio, on linguistics grounds, considers this word to be of Sindhi origin and on account of social usage considers Chaukhandi to be synonymous with the word 'grave'. He considers Khand to be the empty place, for him it is not concerned with the corners but with the breach in some embankment.⁶



Chaukundi (Chattri) of Mureed bin Haji Jokhio,
Chaukandi Graveyard, Malir

Ali Ahmed Brohi says, "Chau", means "of four" and not simply 'the four'. Therefore, this word denotes "open on all four sides".⁷

European scholar has considered it to be a changed version of "Jokhandi".⁸ In his view, these graves belong to Jokhio tribes, thus the name Jokhandi.

Many scholars have considered it to be the name of that particular graveyard, situated near Malir, on National Highway.⁹ Sheikh Khurshid Hasan, former Director General, Department of Archaeology Museums, Pakistan, considers Chaukhandi to be the name of the native place of the persons, buried here, for this he puts forward the inscription on one grave.

"*Jam Mureed Bin Haji Sahib Chaukhandi*", he asserts that here Chaukhandi relates to some particular place.¹⁰

Strange enough, this word is sometimes used for a compound. There are quite a few references made of this word in "*Waqiat-e-Darul Hakumat Delh*", published in earlier part of this century. While discussing the historical remains in Delhi, the author writes, "Chaukhandi of Wali Hassai: At the east of Chausath Khambay, there is a Chaukhandi 18 feet long, 10 feet wide, 6 feet high".¹¹

Here, the meaning of the word as is used, comes out to be a square or a rectangular compound, constructed around a grave, with the walls not so high, definitely without a roof.

Dr N.A. Baloch, in one of his recently published articles, has discussed this word at length and is of the view that Chaukhandi means a square or a rectangular open compound.¹²

It is interesting to note that the local people, inhabiting in areas of our study have never shown any doubts regarding these sorts of structures. They call *Rank* (in sindhi) to an open compound which is constructed around a grave.



A Rank situated in Baloch Graveyard, Malir

In a graveyard near *Mal Muhari*, a few graves are enclosed in a compound wall, about five feet high, with the entrance on south. The inscription on gateway reads "Rank of Kalo Rodin, Hamal Radho Kalo."¹³

More stylish and developed specimen of Rank is seen in the graveyard of Raj Malik. Where a raised platform consisting of stone-carved graves, have a low screen, on all four sides. The inscription on the screen reads, Rank of Radha Bin Malir.¹⁴



Inscription on the Raaq (Rank) dedicated to Kalo, Rodeen, Radha and Hamal (Maal Muhari)



Inscription on the Raaq (Rank) of Radha bin Malir (Maal Muhari)

On the testimony of these inscriptions, widely apart in distance and time, we can easily see the misuse of the word at the hands of the scholars.

This sort of enclosure is called *Hadera* in District Lasbella. This seems to be the corruption of the word *Hazira*. It is a very old form



Rank of Radha bin Malir, its compound is demolished to an extent. Raj malik of enclosures, preferred among the pious to the domed mausoleum.¹⁵

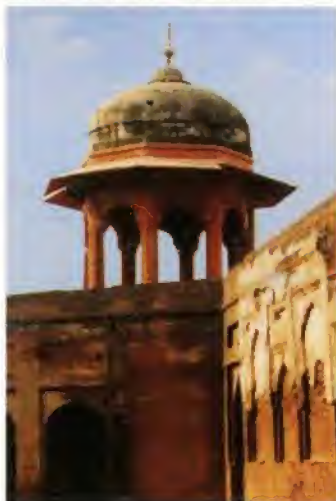
Let us see how the word "Chaukhandi" is used in history.

Nizamuddin Mirza, while discussing fortress at Surat, in famous historical work, *Tabkat-e-Akbari*, has described Chaukhandi to be a canopy sort of construction, which was erected over towers of the fortress. He discussed how efforts of Khudadad Khan were opposed by the Europeans, who even offered bribe to stop him from construction of such canopies over the towers.¹⁶

In *Muntakhab-ut-Tavareekh*, Mula Badaoni has also discussed this construction but he uses the word 'Ghurfa' for such construction.¹⁷

In *Tarikh-e-Farishta*, same event is discussed, wherein the Chaukandi is described as the canopy supported by pillars.¹⁸

In *Tarikh-e-Feroz Shahi* and famous local history *Tuhfatul Kiram* by Ali Sher Qane Thattvi, reference is made to Chaukhandi as the pillar supported umbrella or a canopy.



Abdul Hameed Lahori, in *Badshah Nama*, while describing Shalamar Gardens says, "In every corner of this garden there is a tower comprising an octagonal Chaukhandi."¹⁹ Ali Ahmed Brohi has discussed this word elaborately on historical evidence, and is of the view that Chaukhandi is a canopy supported by the pillars, the building, open on all four sides.²⁰

The Chaukandi over corner turret in Shalamar Garden, at Lahore

The dictionaries of Persian do support the historical usage of the word. *Lughat Name Dahkhuda* says, "A high building with open doorways all around."²¹ Another standard dictionary by Anand Raj describes it as a Hindi compound word of *Chau*, meaning four and *Khandi* meaning part as well as side; "compound meaning comes out to be on all four sides".²²

In poetry too, there are some examples which make the meaning of the word clear. A couplet from Zahori;

سپہراز سرافرازش در حساب
ز چو کندیش سایہ بر آفتاب

In another couplet, Saeed Ashraf has made it more clear.

چو کندی شکوہش گر سایہ افکند
فیل سپہر شانہ بدزسبیر بار

The Chaukhandi refers to the umbrella-type canopy supported by pillars.

Mirza Kazim Raza Baig on the bases of an inscription in Chaukhandi graveyard thinks Chaukhandi to be name of a place. He says it has got nothing to do with the style or design of the grave.²³



The word Chaukhandi (چوکندی), as it is inscribed on the grave of Jam Mureed is a compound word, connected with Sahib-e-Chaukhandi.

Inscription on the
grave of
Malik Mureed,
Chaukundi Graveyard

Where *Kasr-e-Izafat*, combines both words. The inscription as it is engraved leaves no doubt to this fact; there is ample space in between Haji and Sahib placing them apart, and the word Chaukhandi is nearer to Sahib thus Sahib is to be read with Chaukhandi and not with Haji. It makes the meaning clearer that the Jam Mureed is the owner of the Chaukhandi, or the Chaukhandi is erected over his grave.

Ruins of Chaukandi of
Malik Mureed
Kalmati. Raj Malik



Another inscription with similar meaning could be seen on the grave, in the graveyard of Raj Malik, here it reads:



Epitaph on the
Grave of Malik
Mureed

The Chaukhandi is erected over Malik Mureed Khan Kalmati by his son Malik Baber.

Jam Mureed belongs to Jokhio tribe and Malik Mureed was head of Kalmati Baloch; both the tribes could not inhabit same village or place nor both the tribes could descended from same place. The Baloch tribe migrated from Kalmat bay on Mekran coast, whereas, the Jokhias, claiming themselves to be locals, coming from district Nawabshah, settled at 'Kingoray', near Shah Bilawal, and later migrating to valleys of Hub and Malir rivers.

It leaves hardly any doubt that the Chaukhandi refers to the two above mentioned instances it is clear that Chaukhandi is a building which could be erected overhead (the word (بر) makes the concept clear), sort of a canopy supported by pillars.

Grave of Malik Tuta
also had a Chaukundi,
which is now
demolished Baloch
Graveyard, Malir



Similar graveyard of “Thado” which have since fallen down, the pillars, lentils and other stone used in it could be seen lying all around. The graveyard was therefore, famous as (طوطائی) چوکونڈی) Chaukondi of Tuta.



Inscription on the grave of Malik Tuta, son of Malik Ishaq

In the ruins of Khudabad Salis, near Hala, the canopies over the graves of martyrs are still labeled as Chaukondi by locals. Similar is the case where remains of Chaukhandi has caused the place to be called as *Chaukhandi graveyard*, between Amri and Sann.²⁴

It is an interesting fact that the descendents of the tribes, who caused these structures into being, are clear about the meaning of the word.

The present Jam of Jokhias, the Malik of Kalmats and the Malik of Barfats, the major families and knowledgeable elders not only know this fact, but they can narrate some events from the past with reference to the construction of these “*Chaukhandies*”, the costs involved, the time these graves took in completion and the envious reaction of the adversary tribes.

The confusions seems to have been brought in with early writing about these graveyards, when the need of proper name/word for these graveyards was acutely felt and graveyard after graveyard was labelled as ‘having the graves like those present in the Chaukhandi graveyard’.

Dr N.A. Baloch puts this fact in these words ‘after the Chaukhandi graveyard of Landhi the chiseled stone tomb came to be called as Chaukhandi tombs’.²⁵

The local name for such graves is *Gharyoon* — ‘the craved ones’. People inhabiting the Sindh portion of the region, under our study, normally use this word, but in the Balochistan part of the region the word ‘Rumi’ is commonly used. The echo of the word is so high that certain writers believed these to be the graveyards of Romans and Greek.²⁶

Beautifully carved graves built on the Chamber. The inscriptions stated “ten thousand spent”. Rumi Graveyard, Karachi

Dr N.A. Baloch on the other hand, considers this word on the bases of resemblance to a vase, ‘local cupping instrument’ called *Rumi* with wider base and an apex, it is similar somewhat to pyramidal form, as the tall tombs with ‘receding measurements resemble this form, thus this name’.²⁷



He offers another explanation, he believes that the 'word *Rummi* is implied with the background of Persian literary tradition, widely prevalent in Sindh and Balochistan, until the twenties of this century, the term was seen as reminiscent of '*naqsh-e-rumi or naqsh-o-nigar-i-roomi*,' meaning unexcelled Roman (Greek) art design.

'The explanation of the word is not yet satisfactory recorded within the written sources here, nor it is forthcoming from the oral traditions'. However, taking a clue from the traditional identification of Turkey with Rum as could be seen in the name of Maulana Jalaluddin of Rum'.²⁸

In fact, the Saljuk influence spread to the areas, adjoining region of our study. They were established in Persia between 1050 and 1250 AD; the western Saljuks flourished in Asia Minor between the end of the eleventh and the beginning of the fourteenth centuries, they called themselves Saljuks of Rum.²⁹

The Saljuks possessed a great empire before the Mongol invasions. In 1078 AD, the Saljuks wrested Antolia from Byzantines and established a flourishing kingdom there, independent of Iran.³⁰ Just at the time, when the armies of Genghiz Khan were devastating Persia, the cultural life of the Saljuks in Antolia reached its zenith.

The tradition in Balochi tells about friendship between a Kerman ruler and the Baloch chief, Ilmash Rumi,³² who was conducting Baloch tribes on their march from Aleppo (Halab), and had stayed in Kerman area, the Baloch genealogy confirms Ilmash Rumi, to be the leading figure in their lineage.³³

Apart from its geographical affinity, Halab itself had been under Roman/Byzantium. At many a time in history, the territories of Asia Minor actually formed strong hub. Turkic tribes had sway over it, which continued for long. Widespread Central Asian connections and specific Byzantine influence had rendered that 'suffix' relevant with Halab. Even though there is abundance of material in that connection, yet the subject requires an in-depth study.



Arabesque is used for decoration in Islamic Art. In Turkish Art, the word "Rumi" also means Arabesque.

The early Baloch, due to any past affiliation, might have some preference to be called Rumi, as suggested by the cited tradition.

Admiral Sidi Ali Reis, famous Turkish figure, who came to the coastal areas of India, is specific about themselves being termed as Rumis, by the people of India.³⁴

In this background, we have the Turkish art tradition, which readily comes to our rescue. The explanation offered regarding term Rumi is 'the stylised animal design, deriving its name from its considerable use by the subjects of Rum'.³⁵

It signifies to a surface ornament formed by the combination of conventional plant-forms with artificial objects and geometrical lines, arranged to form an ordered composition.

The ornamental panels of this character used in the late Roman period and revived in the Renaissance as well as the actual ornamental panels of the Arabs.^{35 A}



Another design of Arabesque

This portrayal of natural form may have originated, as pointed out by Saladin, by Byzantine mosaic-workers. The most skillful of these were engaged in the representation of figure subjects. When the Arab became their masters, and the use of human and animal forms was vetoed a large number of workmen were found able to execute geometrical designs and these designs, the Arabs readily adopted as the dominant feature in their new art.^{35 B}

These graves are said to have been resting place of tribes inhabiting this area since last four or more centuries that is Kalmati, Naumria ir Bulfat and Jokhia.

This area neither had seen any regular imperial rule, nor has maintained its own seat of power. Due to rough terrain, scarcity of resources and thinness of population, no neighbouring power has ever considered it worthy of taking trouble to maintain its full authority over its ever unbalanced tribal fulcrum.



Another sample of a self contained design, termed as Arabesque

However, the tribal strength has always been an attraction for Princes of Thatta, Kalat and Hyderabad, who had from time to time, in order to gain such support, had conferred authority on one or the other chief, to act as it's, sort of, unofficial representative.

This situation and irregularity of affairs added to confusion to tribal behaviour, five centuries of petty politics, small skirmishes, undurable pacts, intoxicating pride, tribal settlements, resulting marriages, etc., couldn't work, where basis of everything was on unrecorded and non-uniform traditions.

This state of affairs thickens the mist of mystery and these sandstone graves stand staring every onlooker, who could only admire the beauty but can't understand the spirit and story behind these.



Reflect of Sindh in the map made during Mughal Era

The romance of these graves will continue to haunt the layman as well as scholar, whosoever either comes in casual contact or frequents these sites.

The area which is under study comprises of the parts of Gwader, Lasbella and Khuzdar districts of Balochistan; Karachi, Thatta, Dadu, Hyderabad and parts of Badin districts of Sindh. This tribal theatre saw East and westward movements of various tribes: Soomras and Summas moving westward from India and Baloch tribes moving from Iran and Balochistan. The local tribes, too, seem to have adopted well to the pastoral trait as we see Gongas, Ronjhas, Bulfat, Jokhias adrift during last many centuries.

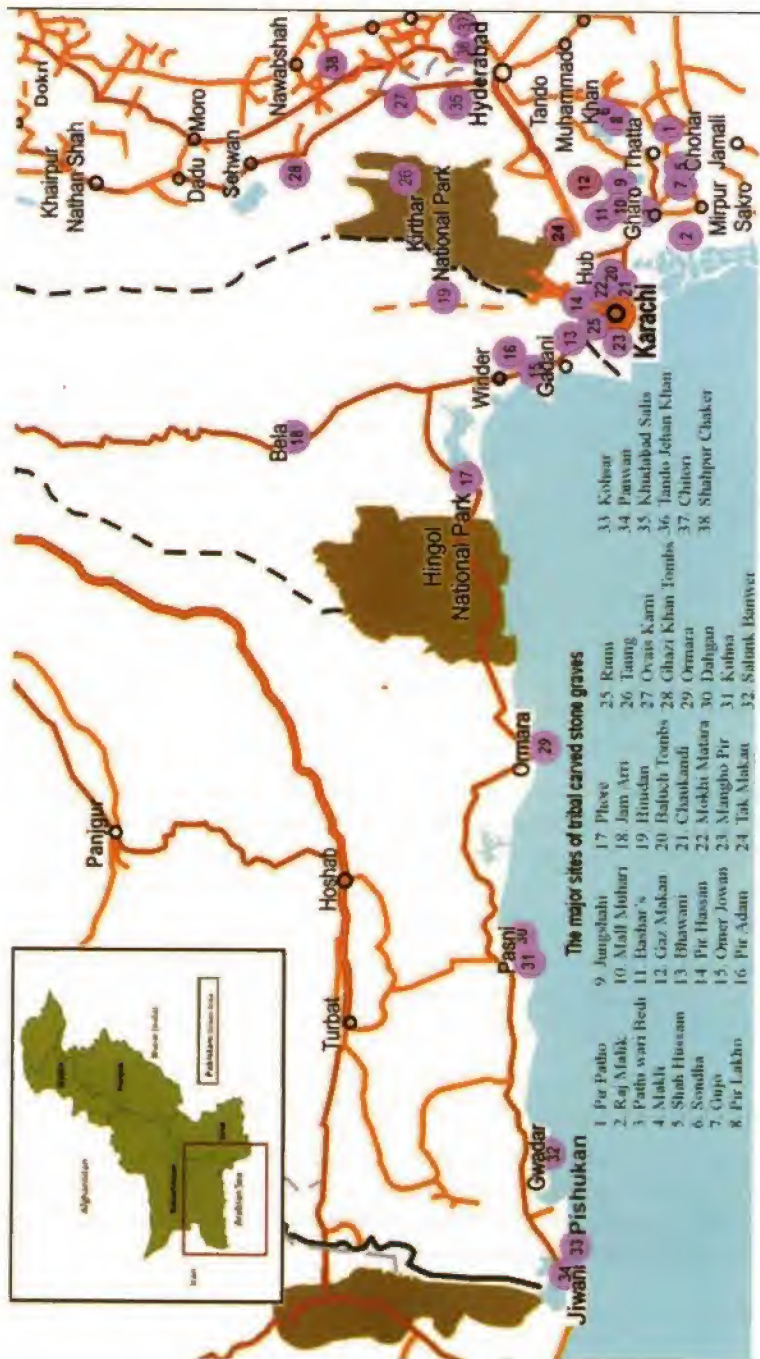
History is, for the most part, the creation of settled civilizations, of town and agricultural centers, the nomad and the pastoralist have left little independent record of themselves, however, the Mughal history do have clear mention of the semi-nomadic tribes of this region. The major tribes inhabiting the areas in Sindh territories are mentioned as part of Sarkar of Chaker Hala, part of Thatta and the Parganah of Sakirah (included in the Sarkar of Thatta), and also the areas up to shrine of Owais Qarni near the town of Sann.³⁶ The major tribes mentioned are Nuhmardis, Kalmati and Jokhia.³⁷ Various groups of the nomadic Iranian tribes that migrated to Kerman and Makran and whose original home embraced the adjacent region of the Caspian Sea, did cause the formation of the Balochi ethno-linguistic community.

The time period of this migration is not clear. There is a possibility that it might have been caused due to the Khusraw I Anushirwan's campaigns against the tribes, inhabiting the territory of the present day Ghar and Azerbaijan, or may be, by the incursion of the Phthalates into the Northern Iran.³⁸

In this case, migration may have occurred approximately in 5th and early 6th century AD. This event may still have occurred much earlier, due to certain other reasons.³⁹

The Muslim authors localized the Baloch to the mountains and plains of Kerman, as early as the mid-7th century.⁴⁰

Down to the late tenth century, the Baloch occupied mainly the western and northern areas of Kerman.⁴¹ But it is nowhere, asserted that these people did not tread over the grounds further east and south, that is, present day Balochistan.



Beautifully curved stone graves are stretched from Thatta to Makran; the map shows few major graveyards

Nomadic and semi-nomadic stock breeding was the main occupation of the Baloch, and the population seems to have lived in the desert and complicated hilly areas.⁴²

The increase of Arab influence, resulting from the conquest of Arab armies, in south-east Iran contributed to the gradual spread of Islam among the Baloch. The secular outlook of the Baloch, however, was an eye sore for the conquerors as they dubbed it as "Muslims only in name" in the tenth century AD.⁴³

The control of the conquerors was limited only to coastal areas and the fortified cities in the Mekran.⁴⁴

Subuktagen, ruler of Ghazni (977-997 AD) had sway over north eastern Balochistan. Khuzdar was held by his successor and Mehmood lost it to its former ruler. Beihaqi seems to suggest that the Ghazni had overlordship of Mekran, which paid tributes in the days of Mehmood.⁴⁵ The libertine aspirations at times did make Baloch to defy the suzerainty time and again. It is a historical fact that the freehand exercised by the Baloch in Siestan and Khorassan entailed repression from the Ghaznavids.⁴⁶

The movement of Turkman-Saljuks into north-eastern Iran in the middle of the eleventh century, speeded up the migration of part of the Baloch tribes, above all from Siestan and northern Kerman farther east into Mekran. Al Muqaddasi reports considerable Baloch settlements already existing around Panjgur, a central town of Pakistani Mekran, in eleventh century AD.⁴⁷

The predatory campaigns of the Ghaznavides and Ghurids, and above all the forays of the Mongols, of which Nikudaris formed a visible part, who settled in the territory of western Afghanistan and eastern Iran in thirteenth century, devastated the farming oasis and reduced the settled population, killing and causing dispersion of people. Many a small states and feudal units were diminished. This state of affairs pushed Baloch tribes from Mekran towards north and northeast, up to the frontiers of the Punjab and Sindh.⁴⁸

Folk legends have evidence that the legendary ancestor of the Baloch, Mir Jalal Khan, whose four sons, Rind, Lashari, Hoat, Korai and daughter Jato are the eponyms of the largest of the Baloch tribes, falls in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.⁴⁹



Burial chambers in tomb building in Kharan. According to the traditions, Nikodri a branch of invading mongos settled in the area and were buried here.

One of the streams brought the Baloch migrants to Lasbella and lower Sindh in the early fourteenth century.

The growth of the population, among other reasons, may have compelled the dispersion of the Baloch over vast territory between Kerman and the Indus, the limited grazing grounds were not enough and the new lands were required.

Intertribal wars and clashes became frequent and the defeated tribes either had to submit before the winner or had to abandon their lands and look for new pastures. War craft, which bulked large in the life of the Baloch as early as the tenth century, rapidly gained in prestige.⁵⁰

The decline in settled population had drastic effect on agrarian economy. Break down of irrigation system and drop of land under cultivation consequently swelled the numbers of nomads, giving a boost to stock breeding in Balochistan.⁵¹



Coin of Sultan of Delhi

Tribal setup guaranteed protection to the life and property to a common Baloch, in face of increasing chances of encroachments by the new neighboring feudal forces and their vicegerents.

The Soomras and Sammas have been prominent on political horizon in Sindh and Cutch, their ruling houses have been drifting across the border in most spectacular manner but not always impressive. Sometimes it is pressure from Delhi, at others it is yearning for independent grounds.

Soomras established their kingdom at about 1052 AD in lower Sindh. After

the establishment of Sultanate at Delhi, efforts at centralisation brought Soomras under Delhi. However, they enjoyed certain amount of autonomy, during the intervals, when weak rulers occupied the Sultanate throne. The increasing strength of Soomras was the cause of their undoing, at the hands of forces of Alauddin khilji, Summas, who had their base in Cutch, established themselves in lower Indus delta regions. Taking advantage of disturbances in Sindh, Summa dynasty established itself here. The Summa autonomy alarmed Mohammad Tughlaq, who was in Gujrat at that time, seeing Summa rise in Thatta, he turned to punish them. Incidentally, Muhammad Tughlaq died of fever/food poisoning near Thatta and the Delhi army left in haste. Later, Jam Babina's increasing activities alarmed Feroz Shah, who came and took



Building associated
with Jam Tamachi,
District Thatta

Babina to Delhi. After Feroz Shah's death in 1388 AD, the Summas regained some sort of independence.

Summas, aware of their inherent weaknesses, tried to cooperate with neighbouring powers. Jam Tughlaq gave in marriage his daughter to Sultan Mohammad I of Gujrat.

Jam Nizamuddin (1452-1512 AD) also cultivated good relations with Gujrat. Sultan Mehmood Beghra of Gujrat, his cousin helped him in suppressing the rebellion of pirates in 1472 AD.

In the year 1451 AD, a number of Hoat Baloch clans left Mekran and emigrated to Sindh and Punjab. It is a known fact that Sohrab Dodai with his son Ismail Khan and Fateh Khan came from Kech to the court of Sultan Hussain Langah in the year 1472 AD.⁵²

It is in the times of Jam Nizamuddin that we come to notice tribes of the Kohistan area. Initially, there were Baloch tribesmen who occupied important positions in the army of the Jam. As the Rind-Lashar war showed clear inclination of Arghuns to Rind,⁵³ Lasharis were drawn to the army of Jam Nizamuddin by his General and important minister Darya Khan.

The victory at battle of Sibi by Sindhian army in 1486 AD, could be considered as the successful attempt of blending tribal power with regular disciplined army.

The Lasharis got Jagirs around Sondha, Pir Patho, Malir and Hub. They are said to be instrumental in settling Kalmatis in this area, as Malik Ishaque, the grandson of legendary Ghuram Lashari had relationship with the Rajera Kalmati.

After the establishment of Arghuns in Sindh, the Lasharis were prosecuted and their main strength along with their Malik died at the battle of Sondha, thus, majority left for Cutch and Gujrat.

As the areas of Hub and Malir were away from Thatta, the Lasharis residing in that area remained intact and secure in their positions. These are known as Alianis (عالياني), after famous Mir Aalay.

Kalmati (کلمتي) are from major arm of the Baloch confederation. Originally, they are Hoat but due to their independent principality at Kalmat, in Mekran, they are called 'Kalmatis'.



Sonda Graveyard, where many of the Lasharis are buried who fell in the Arghun-Lashari battle

Early migration of this tribe to Sindh is not known, but its major stream reportedly came in the fifteenth century AD,⁵⁴ when on their way they settled in Las. Afterwards, in Mughal period, Kalmati established their seat around Malir and expended southwards. With

the consent of Mughal Nawabs of Thatta, their eastward expansion was lawful lease.

The other tribes who concern us are *Nuhmardi* or *Bulfat* and *Jokhias*. The *Mazhar-e-Shahjehani* reports that the Nuhmardis are around 6000 strong (1500 horse, 4500 foot). They mostly inhabit the hilly country contiguous to the parganahs of Haveli Sehwan and Sann some of them are almost found around the

mountains of *Chakar Halah*.⁵⁵ They are rich and mainly inclined to repine and plunder, no Subedar of Thatta and no Jagirdar of Sehwan has ever disturbed them or invaded their area'.⁵⁶



Identification as Kalmati along with the names can be witnessed in Baloch graveyards in Lasbella, Karachi and Thatta districts



Burfat tribe is buried in the Taung Graveyard

The Jokhias had an unpleasant interaction, wherein they killed Shah Muhammad, adopted son of Bayazid Bukhari, Nawab of Thatta, along with his fifty men,⁵⁷ it happened during 1028 and 1035 AH.

In these times, Kalmatis and Jokhias were often together, finding themselves pitched against Nuhmardis, but due to their large numbers, the Nuhmardis, retained superiority over their rivals in the Baran, Mahal Kohistan, present day Kotri area.⁵⁸

The Kalmati, on the other hand, living in and around coastal areas, had cultivated good terms with the Ranas of Nigamras (ننگامڑا), the infamous pirates, who were powerful in lower Delta region. Due to their common sea going heritage many Kalmatis were in service of Ranas.



Stone-carved replica of a horse, found at the Taung graveyard – it might be part of a grave assembly.

The district of Lasbella had remained under the Soomras and the Summas during earlier period. Later, it continued to be under the local *summati* tribes in eighth century Hijra the Ronjhas established its rule in Bela. One of Ronjha Jams, *Saper* (چامر سپر) was famous due to his extra ordinary generosity. He was sung by almost every major local poet; even Shah Latif, the greatest Sindhi poet, has sung him:



Niganra Jams (Sardars) are mostly buried in the vicinity of Pir Patho and also at Makli, Pir Patho Graveyard

ٻاجهائون، ٻيلي ڏٺي، ٻجهان ٻاجه ٿئي،
سيڙ سا سٽي، جيڪا چارڻ ڇت ۾. (59)

*So merciful is the Lord of Bela, as I pray so is done
Saper knew it already, the mind of the one came asking*

The Ronjha seems to have ruled Bela for considerably long. The tradition attributes a longline of persons, who succeeded each other.

پي پوٽا پٽرا رونجهه راج هيا،
ساڍي سٺ صاحبين جي هن هلائي هيڃا. (60)

The descendents of Pab' were outstanding among the Ronjhas, Sixty and five headmen came from them.

In seventeenth century AD, the Ronjhas bowed out to Gongas, hailing from Lakhra area.⁶¹ It was Mir Moosa who established Gongas in Bela, followed by Mir Dinar, an active and agile person,

دينار توڙو سو ڪري، ٻينو منجهه ٻيلي

Dinar enjoys his ascendancy, while seated firmly at Bela

His understanding of things prompted agriculture in and around Bela. But his son Ibrahim was quite opposite to him and was killed by his own tribe.⁶²

Taking advantage of these internal crises and on a pretext of avenging murder of Ibrahim, a nephew of his, Malik Pahar Khan, head of Bulfats asked for help and received due assistance of local tribes.

چار ويهون چوڏنهن ذاتيون ڪري ڪنياڻين،
اچي اٿل ڪوٽ ۾ ديرو ڏنائين. (63)

Ninety four different castes (clans),

He, (Malik Pahar Khan), collected and took along, marched on and camped at Uthal kot.

The Kalmatis were among those who helped Malik Pahar Khan to win his cause. The political designs of Kalmatis in this move are not

clear as they were entrenched in Lakhra-Phore and around Sakra areas, owing lands and of late had a conflict among themselves causing change of chieftaincy from one branch to another. Thus, the headquarters, had shifted from Aghore, district Lasbella to Sakro. In the times of Aurangzeb, Imperial Sanads were bestowed upon Sakra-based Kalmatis, in return of safeguarding the caravan routes. It was probably sometime after the famous *Malik Tuta* who is buried in Malir valley at the Baloch Tombs.

This change coincides with the grant of lands, it is difficult to say whether the chieftaincy came first or followed the grants. As it is clear that the new *Jageers* might have enhanced power of the Babrani (Kalmatis) of Sakra to change the over-lordship of Malik Beo centered at Aghore. Similarly, it is safe to contend that the conflict was caused due to crises over safeguarding a contingent of Hindu pilgrims going for Hinglaj Yatra. It shows that the Sakra-based Kalmatis were already performing the duties assigned to them by the Emperor.

Nevertheless, this change aggrieved many families in Sakra and Hub areas, who moved out and went deep into Lasbella. They might have been among the tribes who assisted Malik Pahar Khan in his attack on Bela.

It was prime time of Bulfats (بلفت); they had captured Bela in 1115 AH, and had completely taken over the Kohistan area.

Mughal sun was setting; in twilight, Kalhoras in Sindh could be seen emerging. Malik Pahar Khan, encouraged by his new success, set his eyes on the Kachho area of Dadu district. Mian Yar Mohammad Kalhora, who had received farman Prince Muizuddin and was establishing himself in Kachho, felt the threat immediately and decided to end the ambitions of Malik Pahar Khan. In 1117 AH/1705 AD, a battle was fought and Mian Yar Mohammad Kalhora stood out unrivaled boss of Kachho.

On the other hand, the Kalmatis, too, felt the flexing of muscles, and they did make Malik Pahar Khan realise that they were a different proposition than the weak Gongas and Ronjhas of Lasbella. Cattle raids of legendary Gandapay (گندپے) on Bulfats, in their own area were a sufficient proof of the power of Kalmatis of Hub and Gadap area.

A bard, thus, lamented death of Gandapay:

گريءَ مٿي گندپي، آٿيءَ ابتويپير،
مندائي مري ويو، پيولس ڪاهيندو ڪير.

*On his steed the Gandapay rode in style, Mandani has
Since died, who can make cattle raids deep in Las.*

After the death of Malik Pahar Khan, his wife Mai Chagli managed affairs of Bela and Kohistan in the name of minor son Izat Khan. She administered the areas very well. The waters of Purali river were disturbed justifiably, resulting in prosperity, a bard thus sings:

پورالي اٿس پار، تڏ ڇاڳلي تي ڇاڳ ڪري.

The Purali is teeming with water, it is why Chagli is so proud

The presence of powerful tribal contingents of Kalmatis and Bulfats concerned Kalhoras. Unlike Mughals, the Kalhoras took active interest in tribal politics and tried to use rivalries of major tribes to their advantage. A chain of intrigues was unleashed, first against Bulfats, later, against the Kalmatis.⁶⁴

First, it was Mian Noor Mohammad, who signed a pact with Malik Pahar Khan. Again to isolate Rana of Dharaja, he bestowed Jagirs on Malik Mureed son of Malik Baber Kalmati, in 1142 AH. Then he bestowed Jagirs on Bulfats (بلفت پُرت) in 1154 AH/1741 AD, with the motive that the tribesmen of Lasbella could be alienated towards Mai Chagli.

During the reign of Mai Chagli the affairs were managed through Ronjhas. High handedness of some of them aggrieved Kaunrijas of Kanrach Valley. The brother of Jam Aali, headman of Kaunrija, was killed by Ronjhas. With connivance of Khan of Kalat, the Jam Aali surprised Mai Chagli and captured Bela in 1155 AH/1742 AD.⁶⁵

In 1167 AH/1753 AD, Mohammad Muradyab bestowed Jagir on Bulfats, so that to utilise their help against Mian Ghulam Shah Kalhora, in brief civil war, among the descendants of Mian noor Mohammad.

The Lasharis, feeling the pressure of Bulfats, in areas of Gadap and uplands of Hub, helped Jokhias to enter, once more, the elite group of warrior tribes. Bingi Khan was of immense help to them. It is asserted that after his death Bajar Jokhia felt compelled and left this area for Uthal.⁶⁶

It was now he, who, was at the centre of the stage and became a ready accomplice in intrigues. Jam of Lasbella and Kalhoras were anxious to see Rana of Dharaja and Kohistani Bulfats undermined.

The Jam of Jokhia was Jam Karimadad, but seeing ambitions of Bajar, Mian Ghulam Shah hinted him to be future Jam, in return of Rana's head.⁶⁷



Grave of the deposed
Jokhio Chief,
Karimdad at Makli
Graveyard

شڪر الله بچار جي ڪوٺيو سڏائي،
ته آڻ سسي ارجن بي يا توپنهنجي ڏي،
هندوسين هٿن سين، جوکيا! جنگ نه ڪڍين جي.

Shakerullah, (the Nawab of Thatta for kalhoras) called Bajar bring the head of Rana Arjan or give your instead I myself will kill thee if you will not fight Rana

Bajar did comply and on appreciation of this feat, he was helped by Kalhoras to become Jam of Jokhia.

Mai Chaghi, died of old age, in Kohistan, in Sindh, in 1214 AH and was buried in Kotri.

ازفر دومل او چوپر سيدم چيست سال وصال آن مرآت
روئي ابجد دوباره هاتف غيب، گفت وه چاگلي بخت رفت.

$$1214AH = 1212 + 2$$

During the battle of Siri or aungar (اونگر), the Jam of Lasbella and Bajar Jokhio combined their forces against Bulfats. Kalhoras, despite the pact with them, maintained silence. Popular imagination had immortalised this event.

عالي بچار آيا جهان جهان ڪري جهام
هيڪڙو نوازا نصير خان ٿي، پيو ميان ڏنن مام
تان ديرو دريا خان نه ڪڍي، ڳوڏر ڳريءَ ڳام
سنڌ ميڙيائون ساڪرو لس ميڙيائون لام
پيلي مان ٻاهر پئي، سوائون سلام
بچار بهادرن ڏي، توجي سدا وڃي سام
هي به ڪنا ڪنهن ڪلام، ناتي مير ميڙيائي ڪينڪي

The combined forces of Jam Aaly and Bajar arrived with great pomp. As they had support of Nasir Khan (of Kalat) and understanding of Mian (Ghulam Shah Kalhoro). The valiant tribal elders were not even ready to leave the field, despite the averted battle, as the tribes from outside Bela were involved. There was a clear intrigue, otherwise this (the success for Jam Bajar) wouldn't have been possible.



Ancestral graveyard of Jam of Lasbela, situated at Bela. Jam Bijar Jokhio is said to have been buried here also

him. Mian acted instantly and dispatched eight thousand soldiers, along with the assurance to the Bulfats, and their Jagirs will remain intact. Thus a decisive battle was averted, which might have brought some cohesion in the politics of this area.

During the Talpur period, in 1186 AH Chakar, son of Bajar, attacked Lasharis and Kalmatis, both unaware at Raj Malik (راج ملک), causing a

great tension once more. Feeling Chakar's non-seriousness, Mir Fateh Ali Talpur, in order to avert future complications in tribal politics, kept him at Hyderabad. On the pretext of marriage, his mother took him home.

Loharani Bulfats having accounts to settle with Jokhias, ambushed the party and killed Chakar. Finally, Jokhias and Kalmatis decided to fight at Makli to settle the score of Jokhia ambush at Raj Malik in sindhi. Despite the Talpur intervention, the battle couldn't be averted. In the month of

Ramzan, 1203 AH, the second battle of Makli was fought. Jokhias won the battle and Mir Mazar Kalmati was killed.

Mir Fateh Ali Khan called all Sardars, Malik and Mureed son of Bajar, and settled them all. Jam Bajar died in 1211 AH, after leading a very active and long life. He, according to family sources, was buried at the graveyard of Jams of Bela.

As we have seen, the tribes migrating from east and west have influenced the politics of this area. While affecting the lifestyle, these tribes have also contributed in formation of a unique culture, which has a tradition of chivalry of its own kind. The Rajput element added its flavour too. The close cultural links are visible in folktales, legends, music and the arts; this has blended in the epic poetry and funeral architecture. ■



Grave of Mir Mazar Kalmati, who was martyred in the second battle of Makli. Makli Graveyard

Architecture

Like other such people and major tribes all around, the people inhabiting this area developed only one type of architecture and that is funeral. It represents the popular taste and sentiment, during those five centuries.

The burial practices have always caught popular imaginations flourishing under repressive dictates of the religion. Here, too, popular undercurrent first infiltrating, then transforming and at last superseding the imposed religious traditions, went on making its own way, this process seems to have started in 14th century, as the amalgamation of tribes affected age old customs.



In 16th century, the new trends achieved an upper hand, this may be attributed to many factors, including total ascendancy of these tribal groups, over the conservative sections of society.

Arrangements for construction can be witnessed in the earlier graves. (Pir Patho)

The tradition of courts and religious institutions couldn't inspire required amount of respect, being out of tune of the semi-nomadic life of the people. Thus, arose the art flourishing in epic poetry and funeral architecture, in the areas from Cutch and Kathiawar to Eastern Iran. Sharing of, somewhat, similar socio economic pattern of life and political non-stability, can be termed as forces behind this wave. Elite groups in Rajput states in the East and Baloch principalities in the West encouraged these informal arts.

The funeral art has various sources. It represents a synthesis of revived medieval and somewhat archaic Indo-Islamic features. It combines "Iranian, Central Asian, Medieval Hindu and even Central Indian tribal elements. That decorative aspect of this architecture has taken over Sassanian, Abbasid, Saljuk and Indo-Islamic motives by the side of South Indian imports, and at last, the Mughal crafts traditions, and all these melted in to a very uniform and characteristic style, that is no doubt representative of the people

who are vigorous and yet, sophisticated. Their simplicity, generalised observation, intensive self-expression, heroic ideals, romantic sentiments and mystic religiosity found expressions in these structures.

Memorial stones or steals were erected for valiant heroes killed in cattle raids, dueller battles, even for devoted women too.



Mahyoon
(commemorative
towers) erected in
the memory of the
fallen Heroes, near
Bhanbhore.

The Rajput tradition of Palyas, Sati Stones and Devali or Goverdhan or Mahyoon (ماهيون - ماميون), is similar but much older, probably a powerful inspirer. There is no doubt that the beginning of this tradition could be traced back to 11th century, but it was only under Mughal suzerainty that these became common.

The Paliyas depicted warrior on horseback or on foot, often in the company of his wives. The symbols of sun and moon are also carved.

The Sati stone show the raised hand of the woman or the standing woman in prayer posture (Anjali mudra).



Memorial stellas (*Paliyas*) and Sati stones are found in abundance on the eastern borders of Sindh, erected mostly during medieval period.

Such earlier examples of 3rd Century AD, depicting these have been excavated at Nagar Junikonda. The actual number of horsemen stelas is said to be the Central Asia, from Altai to South Russia, the Caucasus and Iran. According to the close observers, the type of the figures is usually same from Hun China to Gujrat.

Before the real inception of Hindu culture in Medieval period, at Asian near Jodhpur and at padavli Morena (Gawaliar) considerable number of Paliya are seen. The probable date is 8th to 10th century. In North West parts of Rajhistan, there could be found stela showing standing figure, those from Modamdesser (Bikaner) 'look almost un-Indian'. These are of 11th and 15th centuries.

H. Goetz, the scholar who has worked on Rajput reliefs, considers that it was probably at the time of Muslim invasion that horsemen stela became the fashion. He is of the view that the inspiration may have come from the coins and rock relief of SAHIS of Afghanistan and the Punjab, who might have took it over from the Sassanians and Western Turks.

The tradition of Chivalry is a product of tribal pride which has not only moulded the lives of many individuals but has decided the fates of the whole tribes. The majority of battles took place due to strong egoism of a few individuals. Petty happenings prompted a feud, which claimed several lives. In turn, arranged battles were fought.



Illustration of horse-riders on earlier coins of Delhi Saltanate

The same pride is a major force behind creation of this funeral architecture. The chivalry is most articulate in these structures.

Hero accompanied
by companions, on
part of a grave



The warriors on their mounts, all prepared for a battle, are represented on the vertical slabs mounting the graves. The raids for catching cattle and camels of rival tribes were most romantic events of the period.

آء غاڙي آهيان گندپومون کي ٿا آن جا سورهيہ سڃاڻن.
سدا گس گريءَ جو آهي انڌي کي اکين.
مندائي ميرين جون اڳي ٿيون اوڀريون اچن.
جن جي ونگا ورياڳن کي سونهريون سونهن.
جي سري سنڌ سڄن سي مورمندائي آيا.

*I, the brave Gandapay, am known to your brave men
Nothing inspires me but the track of the camel
The Mandanis possess stocles of the camels, worthy of praise
The braves, who are brown all over arrive now.*



To honour such braves, the tribe or relatives spent considerable amount, and interestingly the budget involved did find its way on these graves also.

On one grave of 979 AH/1570 AD in Makli the inscription reads:

القبر خواجہ سکندر غاڙي سلطان
خرج اين روضہ پانزده هزار لاري

The standards of chivalry were high and demanding. A wife of a warrior thus expressed her feelings:

The budget is often reflected through inscriptions on the graves, Makli Necropolis

”پڳو“ آئون نه چوان، ”ماريو“ ته وسهان،
 گاند منهن ۾ ڌڪڙا، سيڪيندي منهن،
 ته پڻ لڄ مَران جي هُونس پئڻ ۾.

*I will not concede that he fled, yet 'killed', I believe
 Wounds on face of my husband, I will be proud to nurse
 I will die of shame, if he has taken it on his back.*

On other grave, which forms part of a platform shared by two others, in the *Baloch Tombs*, has a curious inscription, which reads:



*Hamal bin
 Radho, "four
 hundred rupees
 spent" Baloch
 Graveyard*

Near *Manghopir's Mazar* is a *Chaukhandi* over the carved graves. On one pillar, the inscription was carved that says:

الهي خير / مبلغ پنج هزار / برچوگنڌرا ملك صيدرو ولد ملك بارون برفت ملك
 دودها ولد بارون / شده (الهي خير، پانچ هزار، پانچ سو خرچ هوئے، ملك صيدرو
 ولد ملك بارون برفت ملك دودها ولد بارون کے مقبرے پر)

*Ilahi Kheir, five thousand, five hundred Rupees spent, on
 The dome of Malik Sapdar son of Malik Haroon Burfat
 Malik Duha son of Haroon.*

On one of the graves, nearby, the inscription reads:

لا اِلاَ الله محمد رسول الله۔ ایں کبر مرخوم بولہ خان۔ براين۔ پنجاه ر۔۔۔ خرچ شد سنہ ۱۱۷۹

*This is the grave of Bula Khan, may live in peace,
 The expenditure incurred on its (construction).....fifty R.....
 In the year 1179(AH)*

Many other such examples are ample proof of the tribal competitiveness for grandeur.

The women graves are decorated with the jewellery carved over it. Curious is the fact that the north side of cenotaph usually shows the jewellery, decorating the head and neck. Southern slab has the jewellery, worn over feet.



An interesting carving found at the Sarhani Graveyard, located in the area of Hub

The jewellery worn over head, neck and hands were depicted on the northern (head) side of the graves. An interesting panel from the graveyard of Hassan Serhani in Hub Area.

The pride still goes further, when one finds the claims.

'The owner of the Chaukhandi' or 'the lord of the Chaukhandi' or 'for whom this Chaukhandi was erected.'



The chaukhandi of Jam Mureed Jokhio is a remarkable structure from seventeenth century AD. (Chaukhandi Malir).

The Chuakhandi or canopy remained the prime sign of pride on the funeral architecture and there are plenty of such structures, many of these have been destroyed by ravages of times. At Pir Patho, Gujo, Shah Bandar, Baloch tombs Manghopir, Chaukhandi, Tonda Mandiari, Pleejani, Raj Malik, Pir Lakho, etc., these could be seen. Similar structures are in Cutch and Kathiawar, erected for similar purpose, despite the differences of religion and funeral rites.

The south western part of India comprising Gujrat, Cutch Rajhistan and Sindh has plenty of sand and limestone quarries, and the same have been in use as building material. As might be expected, from a country abounding in excellent building stones of all kinds, the art of stone carving has attained the great excellence, even before coming into existence of the so called *Chaukhandi* graves.

Earlier known stone graves at Makli are of simple nature; similar graves could be seen throughout this region, as well as in Cutch and Gujrat. Many of these graves are identified as of late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries AD.

As we have seen the major tribes which mattered were Kalmati Baloch, Burfats and Jokhias, adrift these grounds of petty feuds. Fortunately, for the researches, many elders of these tribes have preserved some of tribal traditions and also could narrate the lineage, going back to several generations. The collection of this information from different sources has produced an interesting narration of tribal legends, and genealogical charts of prominent families of each tribe were prepared, which could be relied upon.

The seven characters belonging to famous folk legend of thirteenth/fourteenth century, *MOKHI MATRA*, lie buried near Karachi. The site marked for the graves of the seven *MATARAS*, the hefty Balochs, who used to visit the bar of Mokhi, and died instantly when she revealed that the wine they liked most, last year, came from the jar which had a dead snake.



The Chaukhandi now in ruins, Manghopir graveyard

Inscription on the
grave of Malik
Hasan,
Baloch Tombs.



Neither Mokhi meant evil, nor poison suffocated them, they came yearning for the ecstasy, they experienced those, who, died of mere talk, lie buried near the distilleries.

These are an example of earlier stone structures. Low lying graves with two levels, where upper level comprises of one oblong slab of about 4 feet by one and a half foot.



Low lying grave of
a Matara.

The Kalmatis, in their southward migration, from Kalamat bay, along Mekran coast, have seen many historical events, participating in few of these, they took centuries before they finally settled in Sakro area in Shah Jehan's times, where they were granted jagirs by the Mughal rulers.

One of their halt was at Bala, in Lasbella District, near Winder. Here are buried a few of their Maliks. This graveyard is filled with the structures which are dated and could be referred for determination of approximate dates are found at *RANIKA JHAROKA* in Ahmedabad.⁶⁹ and at *SHAHZADI KA RAUZA* and also at *NIZAMUDDIN'S* in old Town of Chanderi.

These are dated as 1425, 1435 and 1470 AD, respectively. The earlier graves at Bala graveyard, according to the genealogical charts, belong to 9th and 10th century Hijra. Low lying graves of the Maliks bear very few decorative patterns. Again, the prominent persons are buried in a compound, the door of which bears their names. The graves are low lying but have chamber added to the structure. This sarcophagus renders height and grace to the structure. The increased area of the grave has caught the fancy of artisan, who has carved quite large lotus patterns on the sides of sarcophagus, earlier patterns remained there.

In 11th century Hijra, we see the structure, changing slightly and gaining in height as well as beauty. The grave of Sarman, an alleged disciple of Nizamuddin Auliya, has acquired more decorative patterns, predominantly geometric, and has also got the upper slab put vertically on top of the structure. Remaining structure brought in a chamber.

In the Baloch Tombs, we have a grave in this tradition which, is identified as of Kalmati Malik Mureed Khan, which, according to the family chronological table, is of early 17th century AD. There are many persons identified, buried under these sorts of graves, belonging to the earlier period, for instance, Ari Bado's grave at Taung, but there is no grave belonging to any such person who could be identified as living in the late seventeenth century or afterwards. Thus, we can safely presume that this fashion continued till the early years of 17th century. As we have already discussed, these graves have very little carving, apart from the design on top slab, facing sky. This carving consists of very simple decorative motives. To these kind of graves, we refer as simple crude graves.



Malik Ismaeel Kalmati's grave with a chamber, Bala.

There is also another class of structure which grew similarly that is acquiring a chamber, but also attained a very pleasing look. The early sixteenth century AD, grave of Darya Khan, at Makli is a good example. These sort of graves are dubbed as semi-classical, as these have almost all element of the mature Kohistani grave.



The crude graves are common sight in Pir lakho, Kalo Kohar and Mai Muhari graveyards.

It must be remembered that the tendency of grave structure to gain height depended on the financial capacity of the sponsors. During the course of the development, the earlier styles of the graves persisted all along, and did emphasis balancing influence at the critical moment of the change in the architecture of the graves.

Now the upper slab or headstone acquired a new characteristic. On graves of male persons it had a small pillerate giving it a majestic look.



Beautiful
Turban,
Baloch
Tombs.

It might have something to do with Turkey where the turban is usually placed on the northern end of male grave. Initially, this pillerate was simple in Kohistan region, later getting most exquisite forms. The developed instances, which could be seen of this are at Makli, of 16th century. The crown persisted till the end of last century.

The Malik of the Burfats, Ari Bado who died in early 11th century Hijra is buried at Taung. His grave stands proudly in an enclosure build from stone on top of a raised hillock. The structure is similar to that of Sarman Kalmati, only difference is that the decorative motives are slightly varied and rich. The family chart puts him at the end of 10th century Hijra.

As these genealogical charts are prepared depending upon oral traditions, tallying presence of Jams, Maliks and prominent personalities, with certain important events, recorded in history, and also counting average period of 27 for each generation, with slight adjustment, wherever necessary (while calculating the generation gap for the average median child, that must be come years greater). Therefore, approximate dates are assigned to those structures which have no dates inscribed. These dates normally are accurate.

The time is now set for the funeral architecture to assume that classical form, which had caught fancy of so many generations of on lookers as well as the artisans.

The descendants of Jam Ari, Malik of Burfats lie buried under one of these graves. The grave of Bapro is an example of early classical form. The pyramidal grave has gained much height and accumulated splendor due to the involvement of tribal honour and because of the hard work and good sense of the master craftsman.



Inscription on it reads "this shop is of Mehta Kapri... appointee of Jam", *Chaukhandi*.

The Jam Mureed, son of Jam Haji Jokhio, a contemporary of Aurangzeb, is under such structure lying in peace under the comforting coolness of a *Chaukhandi*, near Karachi, that belongs to the mature period and could be labeled as an example of that style.

The examples of late classical structure from Burfat graveyard, near Manghopir, are fortunately, dated. The inscription reads: "*This grave Malini.... (?), son of Hassan, dated 10th Jamadiul awal 1157 (AH)*".

The famous character of cattle raids, who was sung by bards, with love and respect — Gandapy, is junior to Jam Aali, his grave too, is in *late classical* form; similarly, the grave of Malik Pabelwan bin Malik Chango (d.circa 1673 AD), is also of *late classical*.

The evolving structure was now on downhill march, after its achieving the summit, which is classical form. On its descent, it is slowly transformed and changed into the normal urban funeral architecture of the lower Sindh, shedding off its unique features one by one. This phase is dubbed as transit period.

The popular imagination, which earlier thought of coffin and catafalque (ڈولی and ڈولی), now brought in the bed "Khat" کت or *charpoy* چارپائی and placed it on platform. This form seemed to have inspired masses, as it continued for long time and even in late transit period, best *charpoy*s are visible.



Jam Ghulam
Shah's chaukandi

The graves of this period have the turban of classical structure, but the headstone changed its size and shape. The male graves show the taper that is the keel whereas, the tops of the headstone of a female is plain. The rich continued to prefer the platforms, and often, double platform; however, with improved patterns on them.

In this transit period, some of the platforms did have screens, but the designs have deteriorated considerably. The eight corner star and long opening formed the only design in late transit period.



The grave of
Hasoo in Raj
Malik.

The (رانک), or compound of *Radha bin Malir*, who died in the 2nd battle of Makli, in 1203 AH, is a true example of this.

The simplified classical-type grave, with vertical headstone slab, but without sarcophagus or chamber has been present well before the advent of early classical graves.

It also continued to persist till after the second battle of Makli.

As we see the graves of Hasoo Lashari and his colleagues, who died in 1203 AH, in the battle at Raj Malik. He fought well and that event was sung by the bard.

ہسوٹی ہاکار کیا، مچر مٹیادار

تی چھٹایائیں چاکر کی، کومی منجھ کپار

Hasoo shouted war cries, the brave Muchher

He struck valiantly to Chakar, with his sword

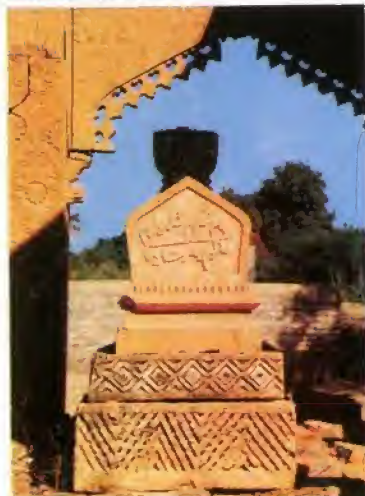
Jam Bajar's grave is in true early transit tradition, in the late classical graveyard of Jams of Lasbella, at Bela.

The transformation still goes further and in 1190 AH, we see the inception of a style, which thought has shed its grandeur, but still continues to carry grace. The beautiful and balanced hand of artisan

is very much visible. Jam Ghulam Shah's grave, in Jodhpori, has red sandstone, under a Chattri/Chaukhandi is a jewel of funeral architecture of Bela area.

The grave of Zangi bin Yaqoob is dated 1196 AH. This *late classical* and *early transit* period grave is very important piece of evidence in study of evolution, when the chambers of grave have transformed themselves into common platform.

Later still, the increased communication and more visitors *frequenting* adjoining urban areas, brought an end to the isolation, and the style underwent a change. This change could be termed as late transit position, when the Kohistani structure shed off its designs and went on to adopt the normal contemporary fashion of burial in neighbouring areas.



Jam Ghulam
Shah Kaurenja's
grave, Bela.

The famous character from second war of Makli, which was fought between Jokhias and Kalmatis, Mir Mazar and his brothers Mir Khairo and Mir Ibrahim are a step forward. These dated structures of 1203 AH, mark the end of Kohistani funeral architecture. Here the influence of urban necropolis is predominant. It may be due to the fact that this grave is at Makli.

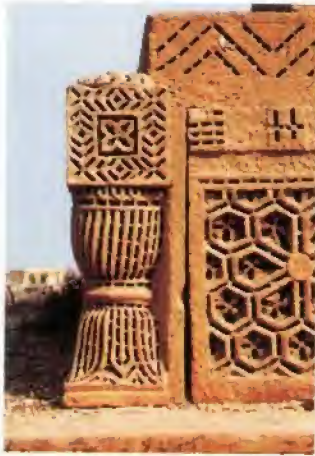
The reverend Pir Parhar, belonging to family of Shaikhs, is buried in a low compound at the Chaukhandi graveyard, along with his son. According to the family tree, the Pir is placed in early decade of nineteenth century. His grandson, sixth in line, elderly Faqir Miandad, is present Mujawar/Sajada Nasheen.



Common chamber graves, Baloch Tombs.

The graves of Ghulam Hussain, Abdullah and Ghulam Mohammad Bhurgri and associates, at Tando Jehan are sober structures. This dated grave of 1212 AH, is an example of master craftsmanship in those times.

Yet there is another structure, placed away from all urban influences, right in the midst of the area under our study, showing all features true to transit period. The grave complex of Mondar Khan Pallari, is carved in yellow-reddish sandstone, in good taste.



Depiction
of Bed post
on a grave

Graves are placed on top level of three platforms, one over other. Lower two platforms have low screens of punctured stone, cut in geometric patterns.

This complex fascinated the early British visitors so much that one of them made a beautiful painting of it in the last century.

Another example of last transit period grave is of Hala Bin Kapat, one of his direct descendants, fifth in line is presently working in a senior position in K.D.A. [Picture AAB. see also genealogical chart no.D3]



The artisan (Sangtrash), Bula, son of Ahmed, left his name
on the Rank of Malir Baghiar. Raj Malik

During this period, in its later phases, the considerable deterioration occurred. The age of impoverishment must be having its reasons, understandably, the generations of artisans, preferred copying over ingenuity, as it was more easy, profitable and desirable on the part of customers. Secondly, the theologians did issue the religious condemnation of such practices. We know for certain that Makhdoom Mahammad Hashim Thattavi not only issued such Fatawa but opposed these practices vehemently, soliciting intervention of rulers.

Now the decorative patterns decreased and the height too diminished. The late transit phase caused elimination of the turban from the headstone. At the beginning of present century, we last saw these graves carved.

The most recent example of these stone carved graves is that of Jam Mureed Ali, who died in 1918 AD, and is buried under one such structure, in which, the dying tradition of his forefathers could be seen and, at the same time, the inception of the cross currents of multi-culture of modern times. ■

The Decoration

The strange and baffling beauty of Kohistan graves is mainly due to its decorative carvings. The symmetrical structures are studded with varied geometric pattern, carved with great accuracy.

Selection and planning of these geometric patterns is indeed an achievement, which places the artisan in the category of artist. The cultivation of this art form could never had been possible, until and unless the required cultural impetus was present. The generations of craftsmen, through centuries developed an eye, imbued with accuracy and balance, brought this structure into being, which is rightly labelled as unique, among the funeral architecture.

The decorative motifs, embellishing these graves, were slowly envisaged and derived from the knowledge and practice of contemporary trends.

The early graves are, not surprisingly, crude in structure and deprived of almost any decorative motif. The designs appearing on following, low lying structures are, supposedly symbolic renderings of celestial objects, like sun. It is very clear that in terms of symbolism, which has some close association with religion. The area of our study is situated in between two strong cultures, one is eastern Indo Islamic and the other is Central Asian, Persian. For the study of funeral architecture, the elements of basic importance are cultural and religious cross currents.

The cultural influence of building mausoleums and grand graves, and celebrating the dead are present in influencing areas. The religious cult of constructing graves too is present, though here the west seems to be emphasising its influence more strongly than the east.¹

The flow of currents in design and execution from west scheme, the spear points lining the slightly horseshoe-shaped arches of the portables, and much improved quality of masonry, have led to a number of authors to conclude that an influx of Turkish Seljuk masons, fleeing the Mongols, was responsible for the work.² The close study of style can hardly back this view. The details of the carving on Hindu columns, clearly indicate presence of some indigenous sources.

The decorative patterns, appearing on the stone carved graves in Kohistan area, during initial period, may be termed as real heirs of the Buddhist and Hindu decorative art. With the inception of Islam, in India, the tradition of arts understandably continued, with minimum possible variation. And that too, was due to the theological prejudice, against representation of living form schemes on the basis of columns and capitals of pillars.³ Similar tracery adores the lintels. Rhombuses continue to be popular, same is the case with the vase and flower motifs.

Jami Masjid at Champanir (1485-1523), has the *Jami Masjid Of Ahmedabad* (1423 AD), as its forerunner but ultimately, it is in tradition of the *Arhaidin Ka Jhompra* at Ajmer. Twin Minarets, flank the high citadel arch of the prayer hall façade as at Ajmer, but they rise from the paving of the Sahn (صحن), a Timurid innovation inherited via Ahmedabad.⁴

The upper portions were repaired in 1891 AD, but the bases are original and wholly Hindu in inspiration. The triple Shikras of Shiva temple at Somnathpur (1263-68 AD), in the same region could have served as models. The construction is exceedingly close to that of the Jain Chaumukh Temple at Ranpur of 1419-68 AD. The lower tier of this construction, supported by elaborate brackets, is visible from the courtyard (صحن), where the bases of minarets (like Shikras) and the Jharaokas closely resemble a Jain Temple.

Here is an area of great commercial prosperity, adjacent to still flourishing Hindu Kingdoms; the specifically Indian elements of the Indo Islamic architecture have, on the eve of the Mughul conquest, become extremely prominent.

The decorative motifs have evolved, in the area under our study, at least for the last seven centuries, along with the development in the form of graves.

In its most earlier form, when the stone was consciously cut and employed for making graves, it was a paved platform not necessarily made of regular stone slabs. Understandably, it has no design over it. In majority of cases, the name is seen carved on north east corner running north south. Here, slate stone was used, as its slab virtually required no dressing. These surely are not chance structures, and could be labelled as one on earliest forms of graves.

Later, the dressed sandstone slabs paved compactly, formed a rectangular platform. Its improved and neat look was immediately credited with the addition of another step over it. The headstone became popular and from its earliest form, where it comprised more than one slab, to its singleness, it acquired universal approval. The headstone was the place, which attracted the imagination of artisan and received decoration first.



Typical
headstones on
Turkhan graves,
Makli
Necropolis

In Kohistani graves, conventional Turkish headstone could not be found, that is the vertical slab standing on the northern end (Illus 1).⁶ Here, the top slab; over the structure is called headstone (Illus 2).

The upper surface of headstone was given a border.

(Illus 3), This rendered balance to the rectangular slab and stayed there for centuries. Though inside of the scheme acquired various combinations. However, circle was always present. The lower portion was there for other decorative motives to be accommodated.

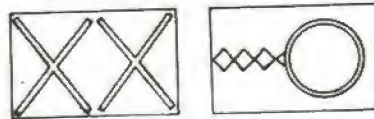


Illustration 04

Chain of rhombuses running down to southern end (Illus 4), was much used. Other variations of chain pattern could be illustrated in Illustration 5, see also Illustration 6.

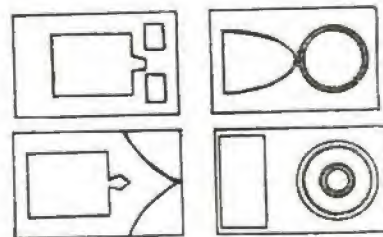


Illustration 5,6

The second important motif is pattern of the tablet (لوح), the wooden board, normally used by school children in orient for practice of calligraphy (Illus7). The concept of (لوح محفوظ), is entrenched in the religion. It is the tablet on which the essential existence of all things is written by the divine hand and there is no escape from it. This pattern continues to stay in various forms of its renderings (Illus 8). The vase and flower is also seen recurring on almost all low lying graves (Illus 9).

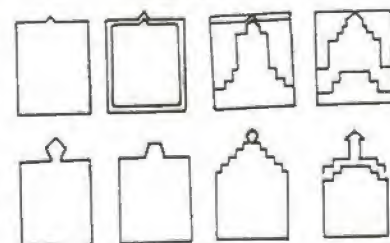


Illustration 7

These are purely decorative, as could be ascertained from its usage.

The circle might have its interpretation. It is usually depicted as sun and moon on the 'Palyas'. This may symbolise time here. But as it is clear, the circle is predominantly decorative which has shed its all possible earlier interpretations (Illus 10).

The surface of headstone was divided into two or three portions, and rarely in four. The decoration was applied to these in very rigid form, circle always occupied northern portion, other patterns went into lower part. Various combinations do occur on these graves, employing all patterns as could be seen in illus 11.

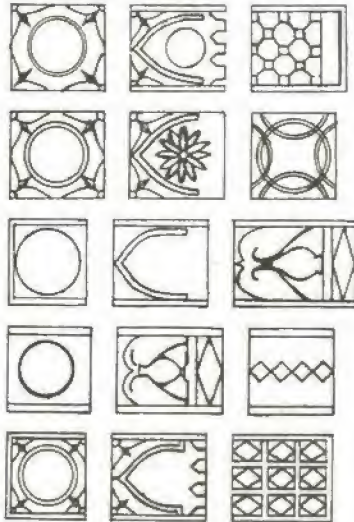


Illustration 9

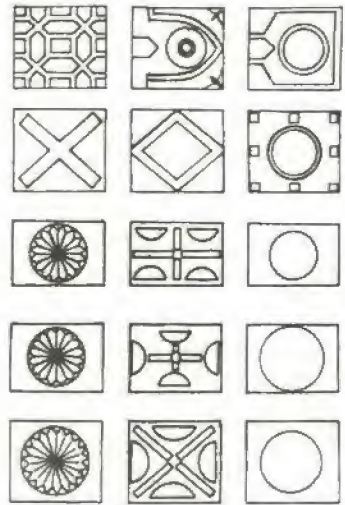


Illustration 8

These patterns kept on repeating with somewhat religious consistency, with no or very slight variations. The circle remained on every grave, sometimes taking the flower or lotus inside. The arch, too, persisted, absenting only on occasions where the carver was a bit imaginative and thought of something more attractive, or thought of some of the simple motifs where despised more labour. The third portion went to the geometric renderings, sometimes it was the flower, reaching the square borderline with its petals or had all four corners cut with the line forming a simple rhombus, then it bordered the flower, still further, it went on having double lines. The most earlier thing was the chain of small rhombuses, running in straight line. Late graves reflect those patterns, which already had adorned the band courses on other tiers.

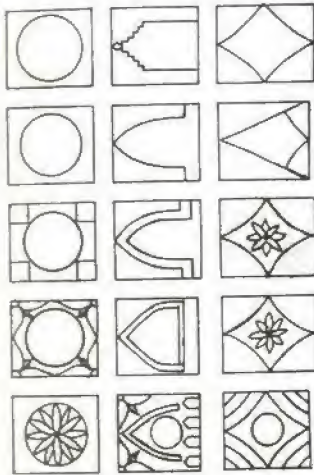


Illustration 10

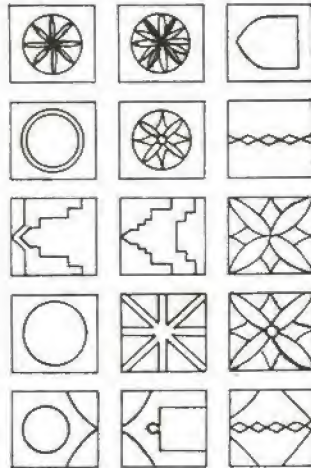


Illustration 11

Meanwhile, the border of the headstone and dividing lines, too, got certain designs carved. The border, which was raised from the surface, was chipped on both sides to form a pattern.

The border or dividing bands got certain other lines of decoration (Illus 12), but these never became popular, thus, were dropped soon, that explains why very few examples of variations are found.

The grave acquired another step or tier in between platform and headstone (Illus 13). Appearance of additional tier was not a mere addition; it went a long way, in developing the look of these graves.

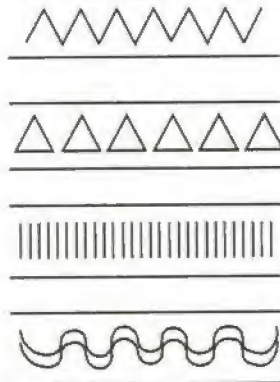
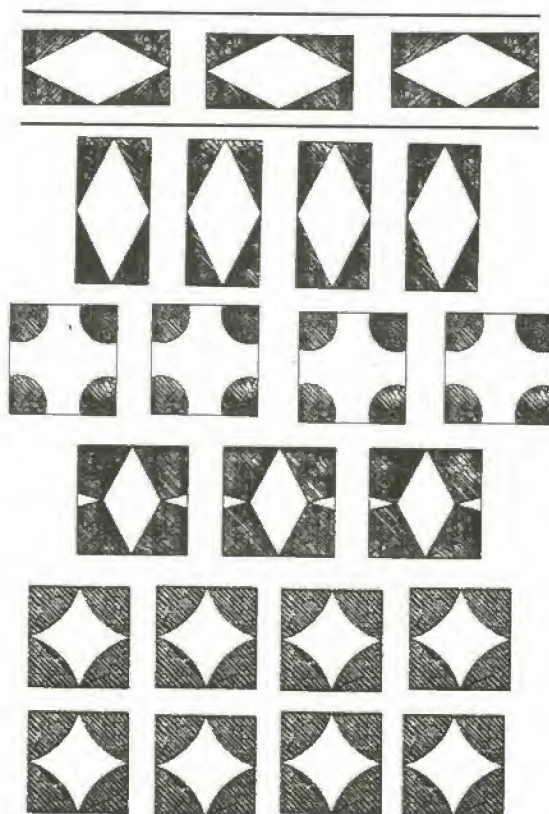


Illustration 12

The upper step was wholly cut in one piece, lower steps were usually made of various stones cut to different sizes. With the addition of more steps, the attention was caught and these started to receive decoration as well (Illus 14). Slowly, the importance of decoration increased and carving got dense and deep.

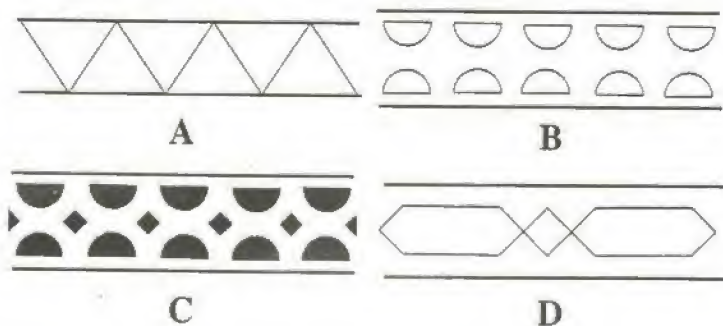
The emphasis on decoration was in true nomadic spirit, as it depended on simple geometric multiplicity (Illus 15).

Illustration 15



The earlier patterns were experimental and quite a few of those were dropped soon for simple reason of being unimpressive (Illus 16), same is with these designs (Illus 17).

Illustration 16



These are mainly incised lines and were not developed further so these failed to impress in the first instance, with the exception of B which was developed a bit (Illus 16), but it too was soon dropped. Interesting enough is the fact that this experiment could be seen done at various graveyards, at considerable distance from each other. These motives were carved on the sides of upper step, under the headstone. Later, those spread to lower steps as well (Illus 17). It is worth noticing that all these designs are geometric, but execution lacks the precision, thus, the motives wear poor look.

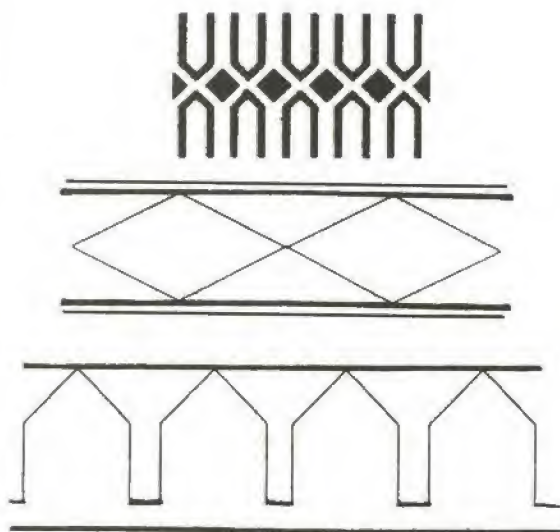


Illustration 17

The quest of prominence kept adding more tiers to the structure, it went up to four. Here, one new thing happened, the headstone acquired thickness (Illus 18). The increased size, however, was out of symmetry. This soon caused the experiment to be abandoned. In almost all graveyards, these experimental graves exist.

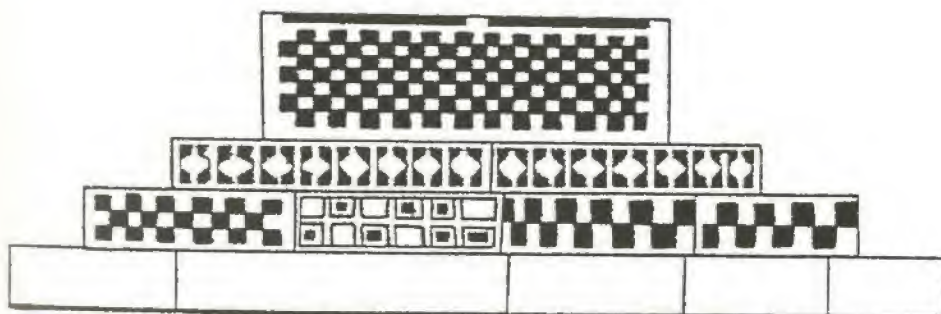


Illustration 18

As the headstone had similar decorations carved on its sides, lack of variations suggests very short span of its presence (Illus 19). During this experiment, the lower step, when given more width, instead of upper one, it seemed to have impressed the folks more.

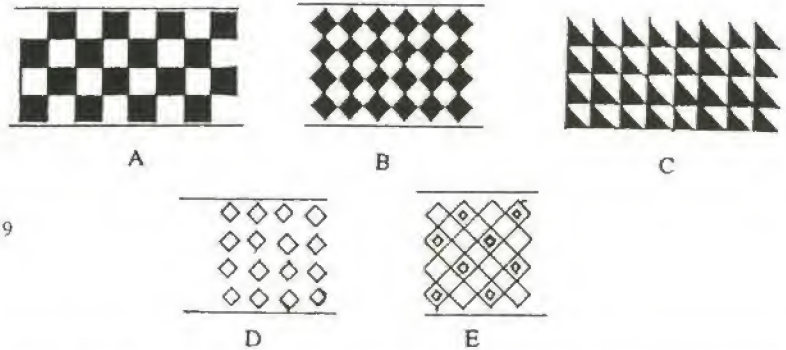


Illustration 19

The bigger size of lower step went well with the symmetrical structure. Here, the funeral architecture acquired a fateful turn, the semi nomadic people started on a road of grandeur, which continued for centuries, and developed into a unique style of its own.

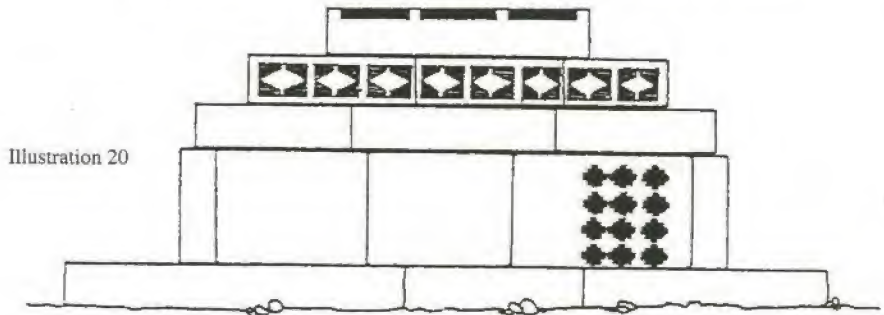


Illustration 20

Upper thick headstone soon ran out of vogue and the lower thick step acquired the sarcophagus look. Same patterns were repeated on this chamber, but these smaller designs on newly acquired space, could impress no one (Illus 20). The larger available area threw a challenge to the artisans to use their ingenuity. Bigger and bolder patterns emerged in result. The lotus flower, the tablet (لوح) and few of earlier used patterns (see Illus 19 A.C and Illus 17 C) found larger place (Illus21).

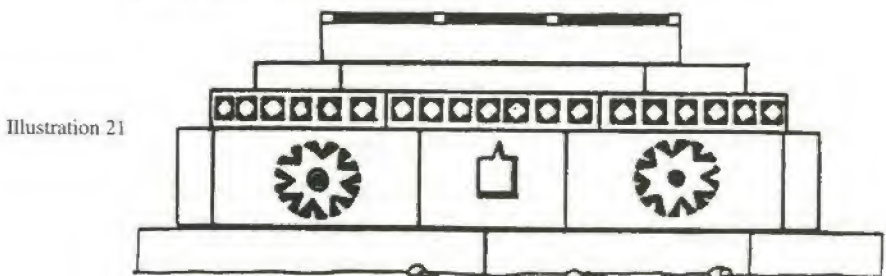


Illustration 21

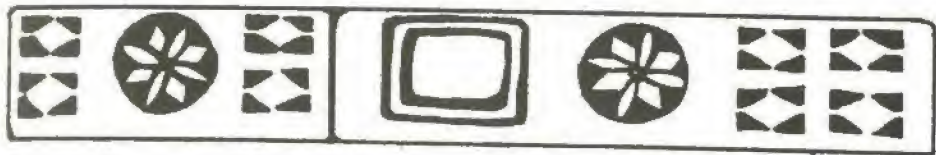


Illustration 22

The flower is crude in earlier executed cases (Illus 22), and that too is not impressive one. The available area continuously asked for more attention and the artisans did try hard (Illus 23).

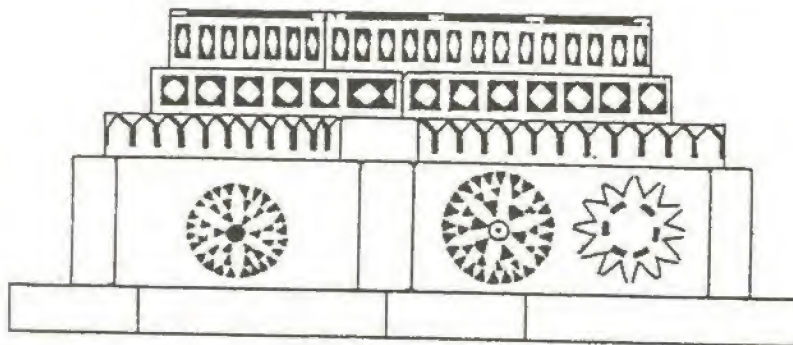


Illustration 23

The new lotus was certainly a better geometrical exercise, see also details. Now these same patterns were placed with measured care and the appearance improved (Illus 24). Strangely, this similar decorative scheme which adored the sides of a chamber is repeated on the face of headstone.



Illustration 24

This is seen on the grave of Baqar Basham in *Bala* graveyard. Similar example is also available in the *Baloch Tombs*, in Malir.

These are isolated cases that mean the innovative move to give it another area did not carry, but this scheme seems to have been very popular, as it remained for considerably longer period on its original place, that is the side of the chamber. The only difference in various cases was in the execution of lotus. This fact is easily ascertainable when we compare the grave of Malik Ibrahim, the earliest Kalmati known to have been the Chief in this area, with the grave of Malik Ismail, nearly, three generation later.

This scheme was strictly applied; there are many examples where slight variation is observed. But main point is to note that these have very small number of patterns employed (Illus 26, Illus 17), and are very balanced.

These patterns (Illus 26 A, D, F), remained there for long, in different combinations, even when the structure underwent great development, that to be noted that all those patterns appearing besides large lotus, on chamber, could not persist, and soon vanished (Illus 26, B,C,G,J,K,L,N,O).

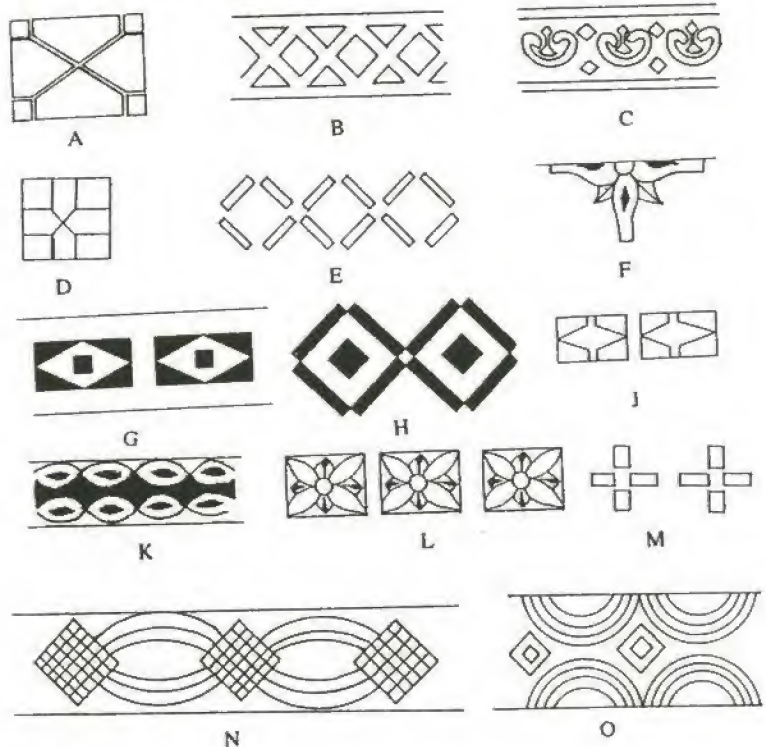


Illustration 26

The lotus was experimented in square of routine appearance of its circles.

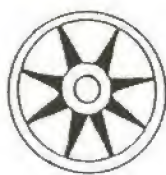
The rare patterns in Illus 26 were at places reemployed in new and different combinations, but here, too, these were very sparingly used. The pattern at illus 26 J, was though a popular one, when used upright, its lateral fret is a rare sight to behold, that is used on headstone in late crude and early semi-classical graves it persisted on late crudes but normally when another chamber was added to the existing structure. This is comparatively in abundance in *Bala* and *bhawani* graveyards, than at Chaukhandi, Malir.

On the sides of the chamber besides the lotus, sometimes one finds sun disc, in all its splendour (Illus 27 A). Even though it is beautiful in execution, it seems to have attracted not much fancy of beholder, thus, its specimen could be counted on fingers (Illus 27).

Structural development continued and it is clear that more than one trend persisted for a while, till the popularity of one, mainly due to its better look made others obsolete.



A



B



C

Illustration 27

Addition of another chamber was surely due to nomadic search for grandeur, and this development caused more experimentation in decoration. The arch was introduced in the lower chamber pedestals. This was the time when the trend of full utility of space for decorations was beginning. Lower chamber had earlier geometric patterns (Illus 17 A, Illus 26 A & Illus 19C). The upper chamber continued to retain its original theme initially. Here, we had that big lotus and geometric borders, as well as same efforts for utilisation of all available space, by employing smaller geometric patterns. In the first case, the improvement over the older practice occurred. Here, the lotus was placed under an arch and was a bit compact. It was an important development which went a long way during subsequent centuries. Though lotus arch combination in its simpler forms could be seen in Sultanate buildings and also in Islamic buildings in Gujrat, but here it developed quite independently, however, the earlier inspiration which must have been there, could not be rules out (Illus 32).

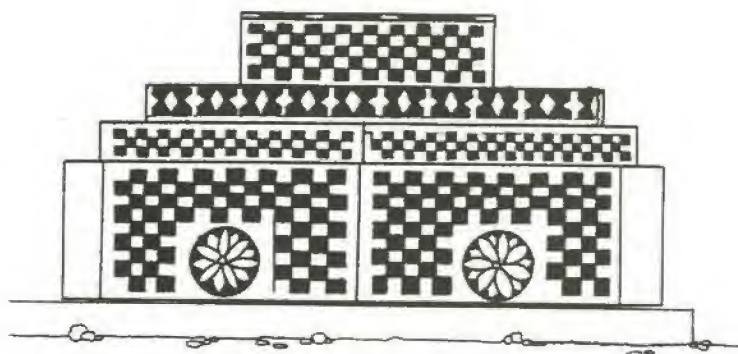


Illustration 28

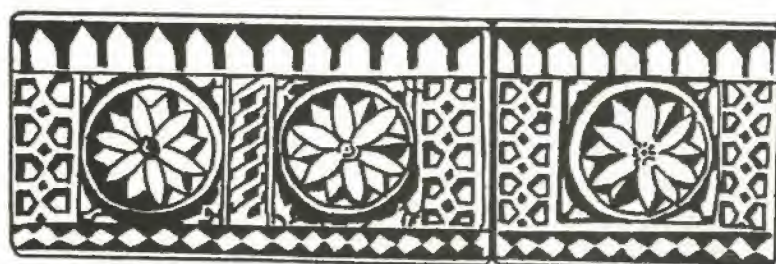


Illustration 29

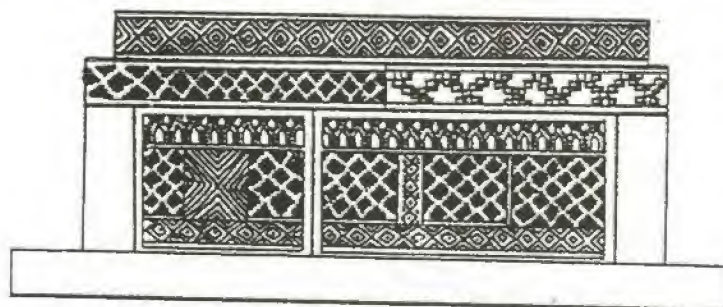
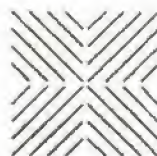


Illustration 30



Illustration 31 A



B

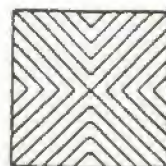


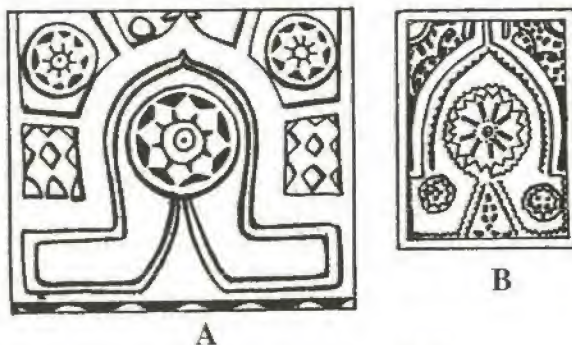
Illustration 32

The lotus placed under decorative arch became increasingly popular, from its outset. Though all earlier renderings are not that impressive as that of later developments; the lotus, placed in the tablet (لوحة) casually at earlier date, is once again seen here to return, with no improvement. Here the artisan turned his attention on utilisation of all the space. Previously, the space in between various elements of the decorative design was unutilised.

In his efforts to utilise this space, the artisan turned to popular motives (Illus 19 ABCDE), along with the omnipresent flower. These patterns were placed in such a way that no space remained uncarved. The reason for utilisation of these patterns was purely practical that these comprised small units, and can be used for any length and breadth for which no great accuracy and calculation were required (Illus 28). The fully utilised space did not really look all that impressive, despite employment of much time and more labour. In reaction, two things happened, firstly, the chamber was enclosed in borders at top and bottom, (Illus 12C and Illus 17B, C, Illus 29). Secondly, the lotus was thrown out and geometric patterns occupied the space (Illus 30). The whole space of these chambers was divided into various compartments. This division, in fact, did give much advantage to the artisans and improved the look of the graves. Previous habit of using one pattern for whole length slowly gave way to this trend.

This is the time when new patterns were practiced (Illus 31 A, B). By use of lines new motives were derived and very proudly employed in *Bhawani*, *Bala* and *Chaukhandi* graveyards, but their stay was not long, as we hardly see these getting their places when new structural developments were taking place. The grave acquired another chamber. This additional chamber not only bestowed the structure with height and grandeur, it also gave more space to be decorated. Initially, previous schemes were repeated on both chambers, but then, each chamber was given distinct treatment.

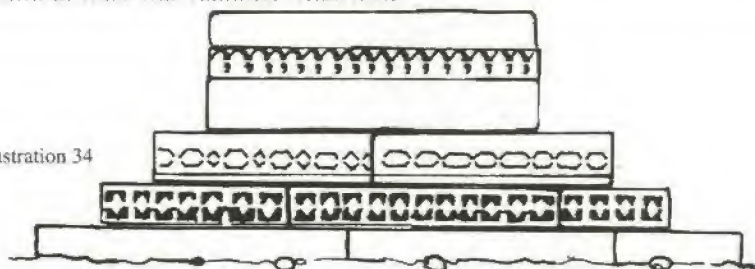
Illustration 33



The lower chamber was made entirely of small pillars on which stood the whole structure of the grave. The imaginative innovation

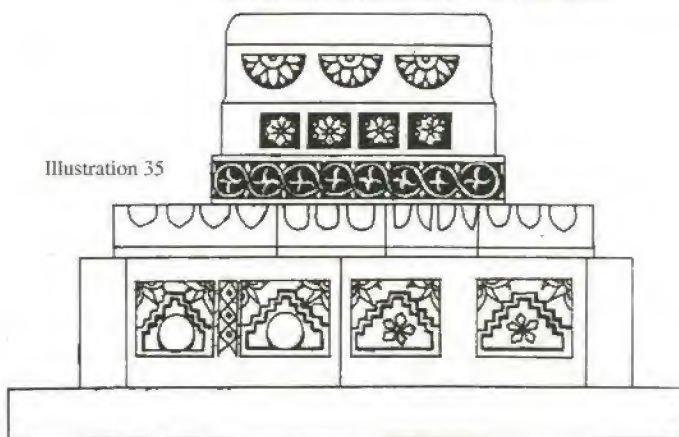
took fancy of all artisans. Unfortunately, this innovation was a failure on account of non-stability of structure. But the artisans had a readymade solution available. Instead of giving separate pedestals to the grave, they cut the pedals out of side slabs of the lower chamber. This granted the required strength, at the same time, similar look was retained (Illus 33).

Illustration 34



The headstone had acquired certain thickness at earlier stages, and as we saw it never was a popular development. Thus, it continued to change slowly before its culmination in altogether different shape. Initial shape was like a high box (Illus 34). It persisted when the grave acquired lower chamber and we see the double chamber grave do have a few specimen. The headstone still retained the thickness to the extent of a considerable height. Once the height increased, the width of the headstone started diminishing. It did diminish to the extent that it looked like a thin slab.

Illustration 35



Artisans started putting headstone vertically, that is, the rectangular slab of small width (about 15cm) was placed over the grave steps, on its narrow side. The higher slab, for reasons of decoration in some cases was divided in more than one lateral division (Illus 35).

This form is similar to the earlier low lying graves of tenth century AD. Wide side being on display was taken by eager artisans to practice and show their craftsmanship. Starting slowly, the artisans employed this space to many good schemes. Initially, the old patterns were repeated, (Illus 19A & C, Illus 26 E, H, L & M, Illus 15 F & D, Illus 17 C & B). Less frequenting designs were those shown in Illus 36 ABCDE. As this practice went on, some structural changes were being brought.

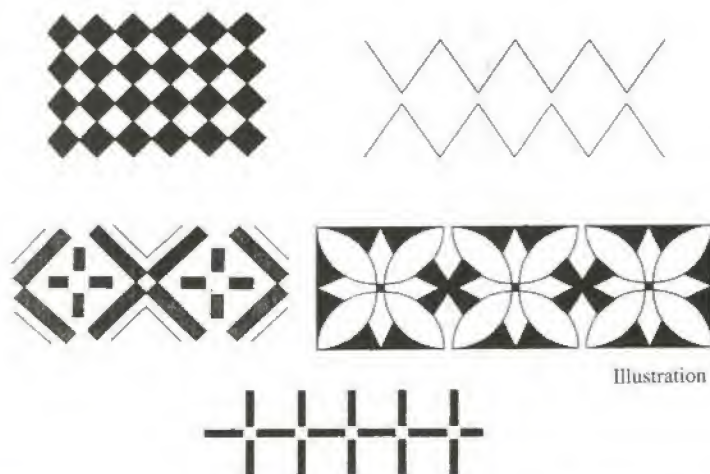


Illustration 36

The combination of earlier headstone, having its decoration on top (facing skywards) and later designs of vertically standing headstone, paved way for inception of a pillarete on northern end of headstone. The decorative scheme is same and the pillarete could be seen emerging (Illus 37 A) same is the case here (Illus 37 B). The same decorative motives on the headstone with similar combination and also the constant size of headstone, in various graveyards are strong indicators of same age. This provides us with a clear idea of birth of the small pillarete, which is termed as the headgear 'turban of male' (Illus 37 ABCDEFL). That pillarete started of rising and went on to

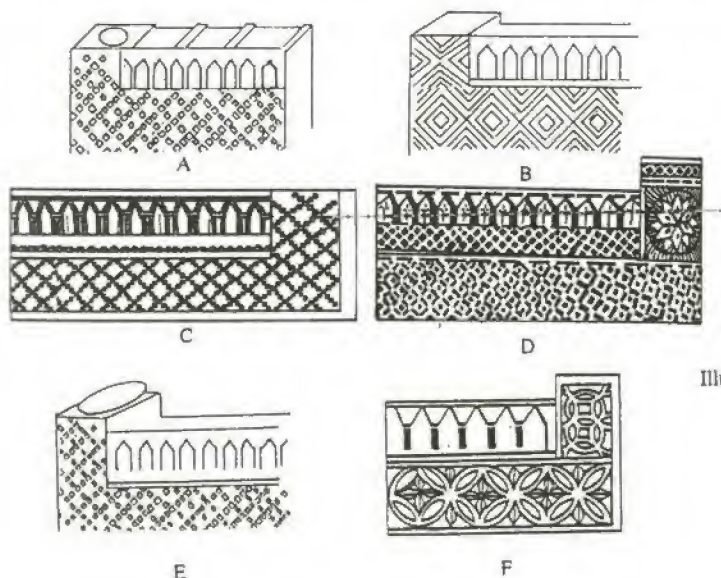


Illustration 37

become prominent. Representation of headgear on Turkish graves, dates back to the days of Rumi Seljuks. "It was possible to identify cores of profession and the rank of any member of the civil, religious and military establishment merely by their costume and headgears. This hierarchic vision was projected in to death itself and services petrified in the cemeteries."⁸

The structural development paved way for the inception of classical graves. But for considerable period, the structure remained in *semi-classical* position, before it could fully mature. In this period, the new decorative schemes were experimented and the carving achieved perfection.

The pillarete or turban acquired few shapes, not varying much from each other, sometimes slight variation is observed but in same spirit. The turban only decorated male graves (Illus. 38). The *Kuniya* graves of Maulana Rumi and other male members of the sect of the *Derveshes*, do carry typical late medieval great Turkish turbans.



Illustration 38

This practice was initiated by the Baloch tribes and later local Rajput and some Sindhi tribes adopted this as a matter of convention. There is no evidence of such practice among the Afghans, Arghuns and Turkhans, neither in Persian tribes settled here nor even the Babrides (Mughals), have practiced it. Though the Timurids had such practice, the grave of Great Khan is a telling example.

This practice among the Baloch tribes, may open new debate over Baloch-Central Asian connections, but we have presently got nothing to do with it. As this typical way of carving turban in stone, is seen in abundance in this part of the world only and their style too seems to be indigenously arrived at, thus, we accept it as the amalgamation of the Baloch aspirations with articulations of local artisans.

The turban came to stay, the earlier dated example are from early sixteenth century for example, the grave of Mubarak Khan at Makli. There are, however, undated examples of much earlier period, as ascertained through genealogical charts and also from decorative schemes (Illus 39).

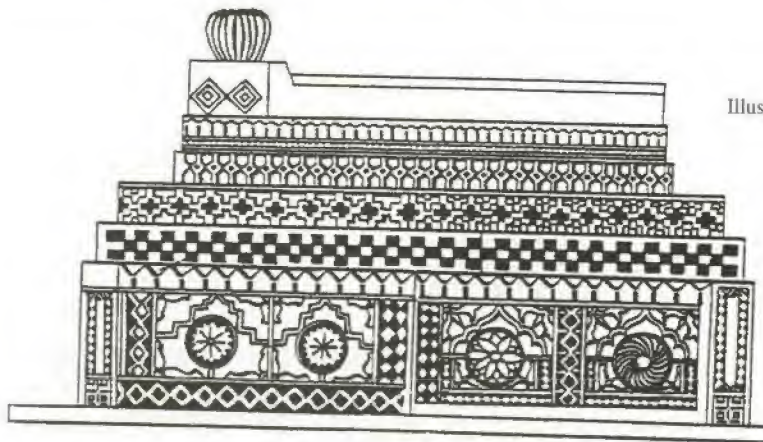


Illustration 39

The lower chamber in *double chamber* graves had pillars or pedestals, incorporated inside slabs, forming the length and breadth of the chamber. Here, very interesting variations were practiced by intelligent artisans (Illus 40).

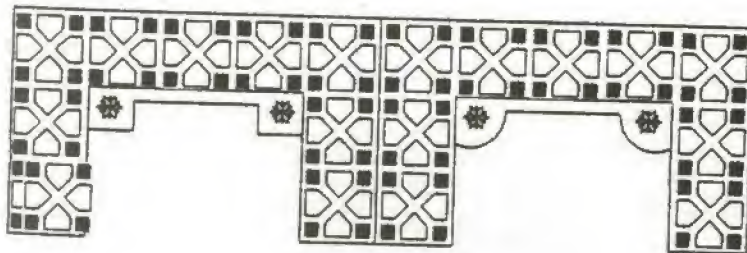
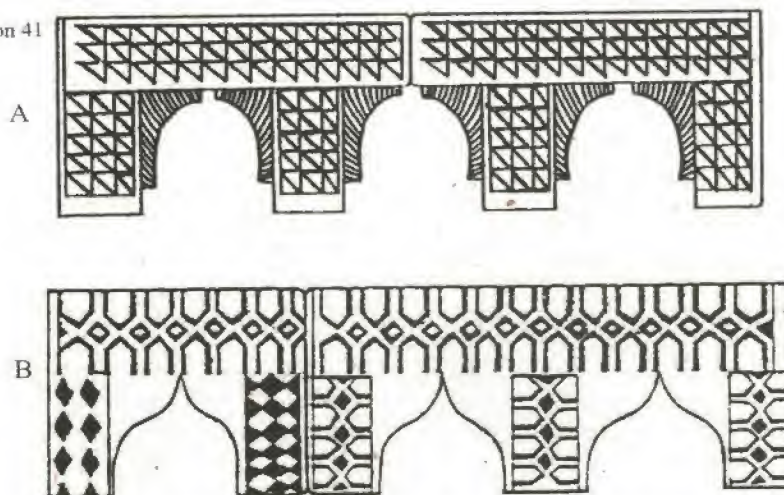


Illustration 40

The side length of a chamber always had two slabs laterally placed, not necessarily of equal size. Initially, each slab had one cut, sometimes rectangular and sometimes forming an arch (Illus 33D), but it was not till the time regular spacing was done. There are many examples, where in one slab, there are two and in other one arch, thus, making three arches on each broader side of the chamber. Normally, the northern half of it got two arches and southern half had to be content with one (Illus 41).

Illustration 41



To cater for these shapes, the most popular motif was the quarter of a lotus, which adorned all corners, filling the space created by the execution of arches in lower as well as upper chamber (Illus 41 DEFG, Illus 32F).

This pattern is strong indication of the spell under which artisan works. This along with plant in vase is form earlier Hindu and Jain Temple decorations,⁹ which had found its way to secular architecture and then to the funeral architecture with the Muslims.

These big and wide leaves are out of scenario, as far as the arid landscape is concerned. This motif from the lands of rivers and doaba has certain religious background, which later turned into purely decorative form.¹⁰

The differentiation in male and female graves has occurred fairly early. The vertical slabs in crude grave structures were initially used on male graves. The female graves continued to have some low lying squatting headstone.

The headstone in its various forms, discussed earlier, in vertical position strived to get into pace with the new development, where it

proudly had turban. The simple vertical slab, having lateral divisions and slant at the top, moulded that slant to accommodate the turban. These efforts changed that slant still more, giving it somewhat meaningful taper and the lateral divisions were gainfully employed in decoration (Illus 39).

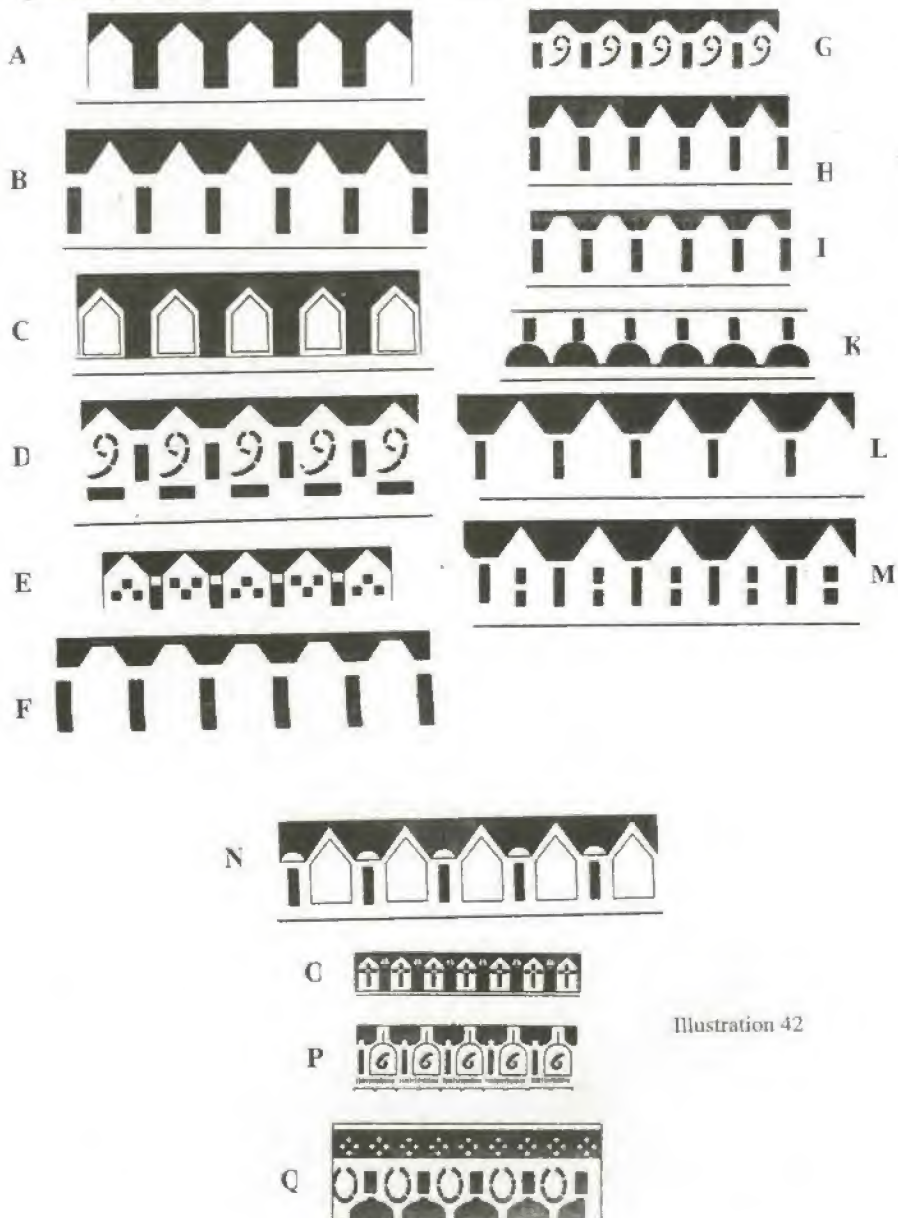


Illustration 42

At this time, as we had earlier pointed out, the headstone had similar schemes carved, same lance fret adored the top line, having some transit motive or dividing line in the middle and the inevitable squares forming intersecting lines, occupying whole space to give good light and shed effect (Illus 37).

The popularity of these line frets went on developing it a bit more, and also caused its being employed at other vital division of multisteped graves (Illus 42, ABCDEFGKMN). Same fret was employed inversely also.

This time, it occupied the intervening step between two chambers or in between the headstone and upper chamber (Illus HJK). The fret grew in importance still more, as it was employed in its role at the upper or lower edge of their tier, just jutting out as in all around hedge.

The combination of motifs carved on graves is remarkably same, even though the distance of sites is normally great. Here, it could be seen that the quality of craftsmanship differs, even the quality of material that is the sandstone, is visibly different, still the decorative scheme is similar. This, and multiple such examples testify to the fact that strong convention did prevail, and the guilds of artisans were not entrenched to certain stations. True to nomadic tradition of their semi nomadic patrons, artisans freely moved, from place to place, to work on various commissions, usually from adversary tribes.

The ogee arch, the corner leaf motif, squares in various executions formed exactly similar divisions (Illus 43).

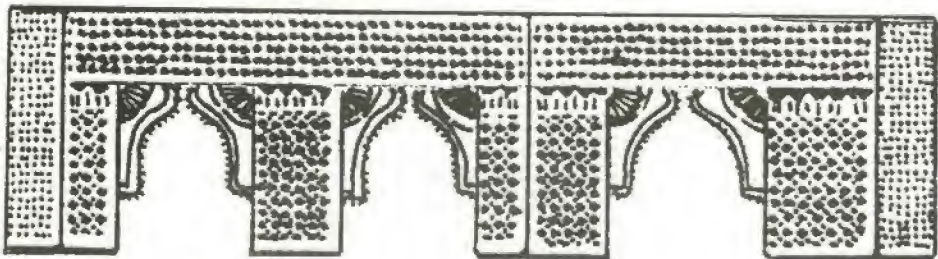


Illustration 43

The arches in lower chamber persisted for considerably longer period, as various derivatives and variety of motifs are seen being experimented with the arch. Even this arch was cut into the single chamber

graves. Probably, the economic consideration could not even resist its temptation. The artisans took great fancy to the arch, to the extent that it was cut into couples, even on the narrower sides, that is northern and southern end of the lower chamber, being head and foot sides. Many such examples adorn the graves, in *Bhawani*, *Bala*, and the *Baloch Tombs* graveyards (Illus 44).

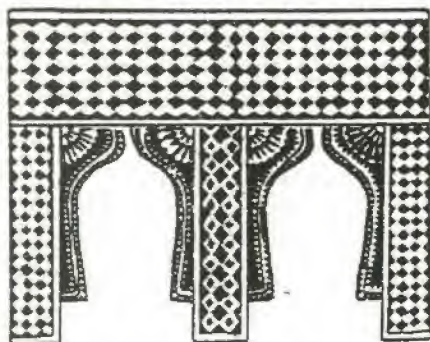


Illustration 44

The carving got pretty good attention now. Till this time it usually had two levels of relief. Now the third level was introduced; thus, certain amount of richness was rendered to already present motifs.

At this time, some new motifs are used with great frequency and being carved on the same step on various graves of the period (Illus 46 A).

The two chamber, arch cut graves, had characteristically, very similar decorative scheme and that was persistent even in the distant graveyards. It is strange to not that *Bala*, *Taung*, the *Baloch Tombs* *Bhawani*, and *Chaukhandi* graveyards proudly show similar specimen (Illus 47). The headstone, as discussed earlier, has the similar divisions and same motifs.

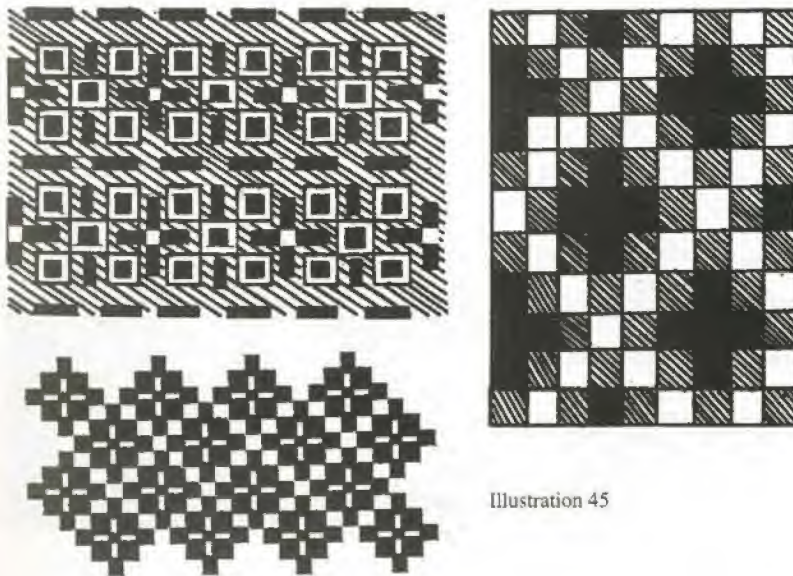
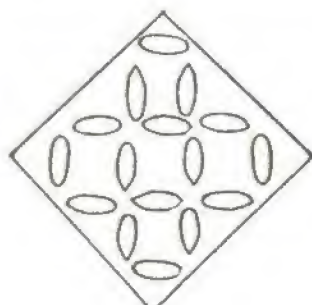


Illustration 45

The upper chamber has three semi-compact lotuses in square boxes, enclosed in the borders, horizontally and vertically different from each other (Illus 48).



A



B



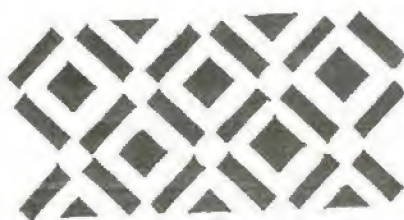
C



D



E



F



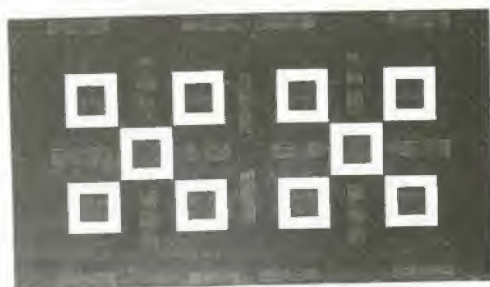
G



H



I



J

Illustration 46

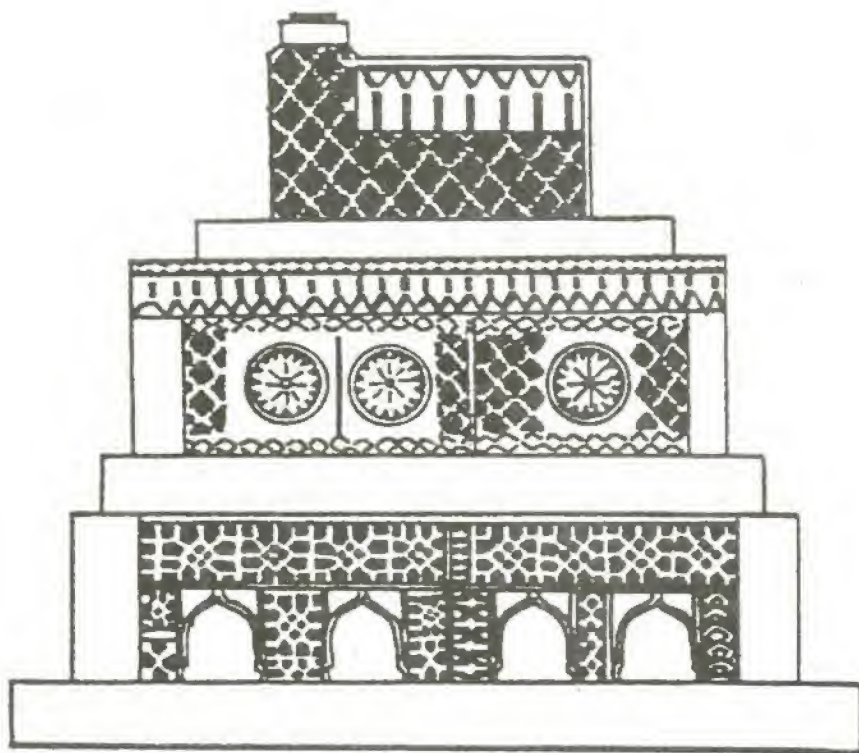


Illustration 47

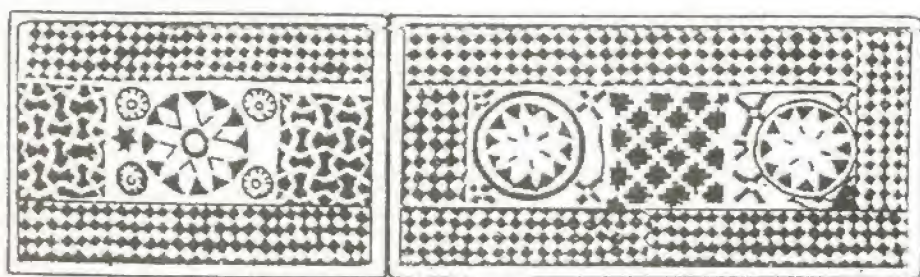
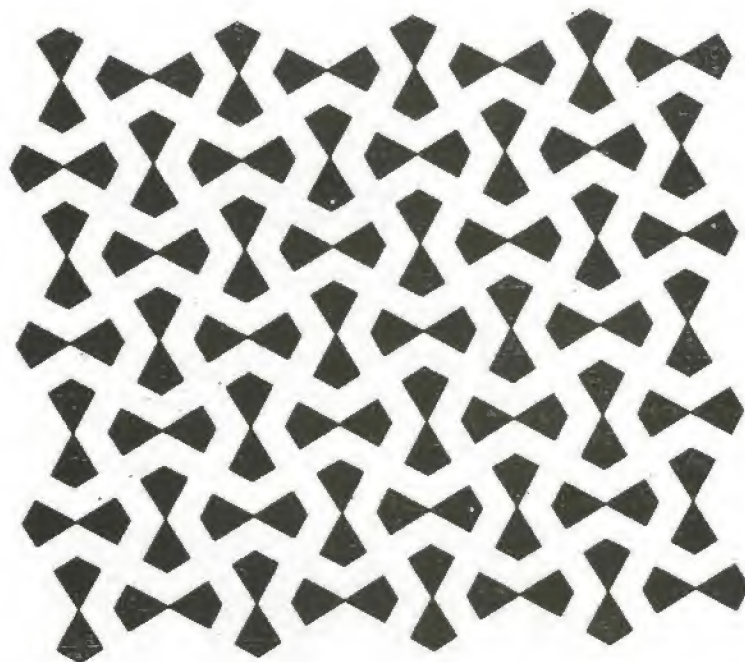


Illustration 48

As we move down to the lower chamber, we find very similar motifs carved in same schemes (Illus 49).

Illustration 48
(detail)



There are, nevertheless, few experimental specimen, where the artisans have deviated from set practice, but such experiments proved either singular or short living (Illus 46 B).

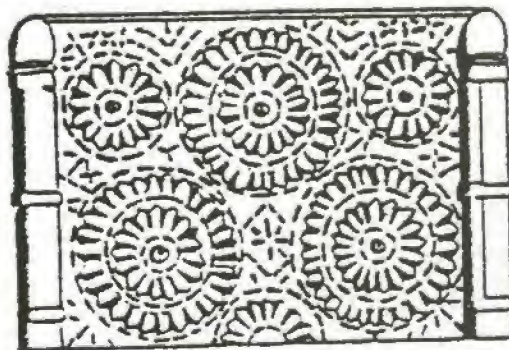


Illustration 49

The normal square motifs, already present are repeated on headstone, which had now formally acquired the turban like small pillarete. Here, the lance fret is persistently present (see Illus 42 DEFGHJK). These variations in square are now establishing themselves on lower tier and chambers.

The structure, here, is acquiring couple of new things, one in design of motif and other in the material presentation of the chamber. The upper chamber her is becoming copy of the catafalque (), and its side supports are also depicted in stone (Illus 49).

The decorative change was inception of rectangular panels of certain motifs, on the upper chamber. These came and stayed. The rectangular panels are carved in more than two levels (Illus 46 LM).

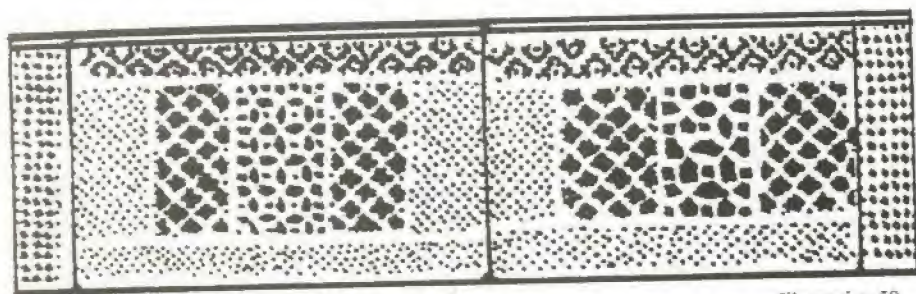


Illustration 50

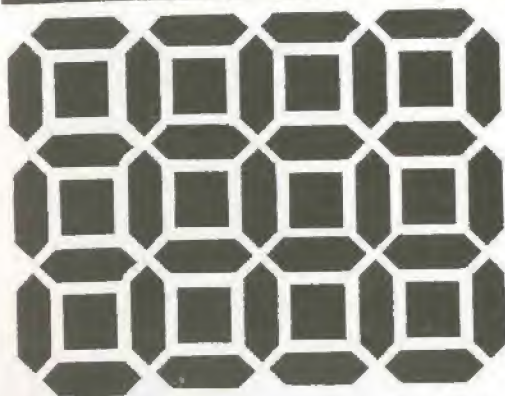


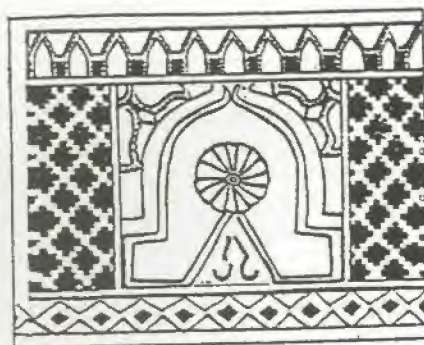
Illustration 50
(detail)

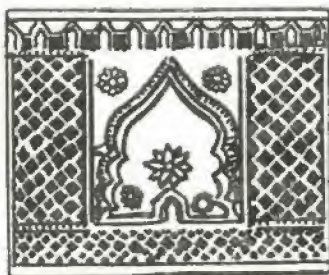
The whole area of the grave is carved, with small designs repeated at various portions. The arches on lower chamber, which multiplied from 2 to 4 initially, were reduced to three. But this was an experiment which was repeated in almost all larger graveyards, but soon was abandoned (Illus 41 AB).

The absence of lotus on some graves was not to last long. Lotus got compact and came to adore almost all graves. Then it went under the protective shadow of arch (Illus 32, 39), and got its permanent place on all graves. The evolution of this combination of motifs could be seen in series of illustration here.

The first example of lotus in tablet could be seen in all graveyards, in late crude graves (Illus 35 and 39). The lotus and the arch have curious shapes. The arch has complex curves, same is cut in the lower chamber and is carved on the upper chamber. Here, the lotus is carved under the arches (Illus 35). Similarly, the ogee arch is cut in another grave in lower chamber and same is carved in upper chamber. Here, the flower is placed on a pedestal (Illus 52).

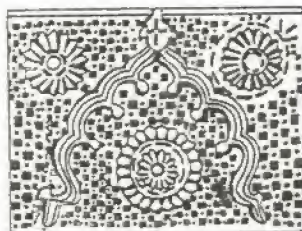
Illustration 52



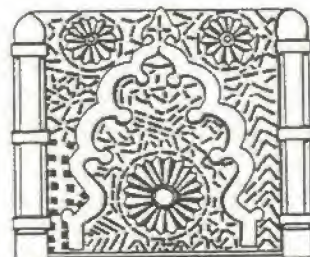


The sun disc also got its place under the arch. The arch, got somewhat good attention and we saw some new patterns emerging (Illus 53).

Illustration 53



A



B



C

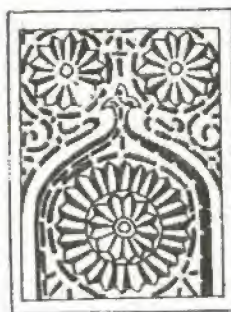


D

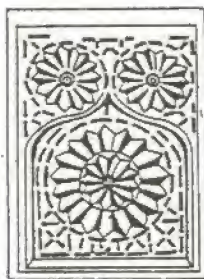


E

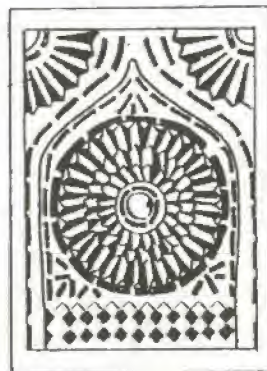
Illustration 54



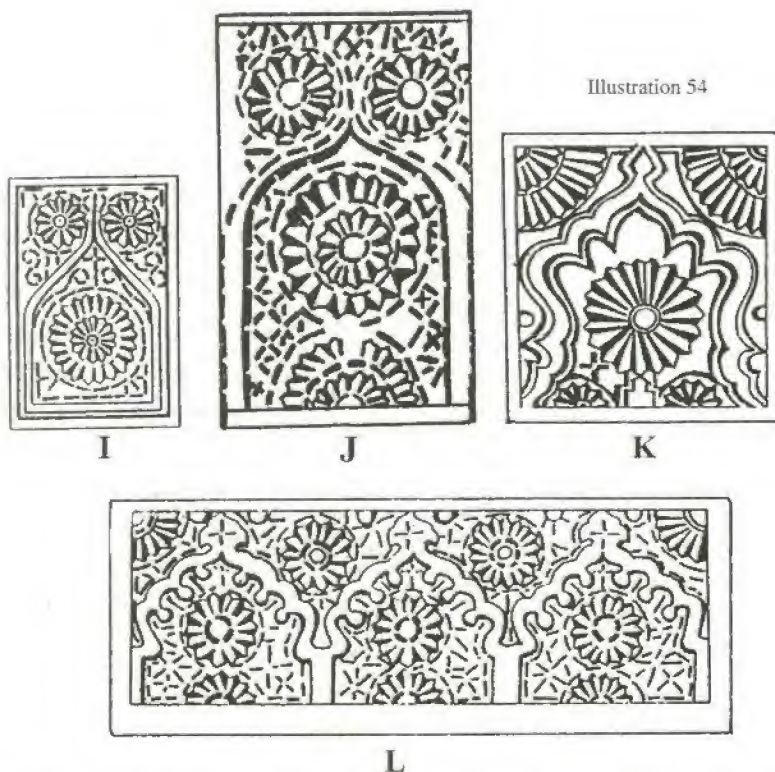
F



G

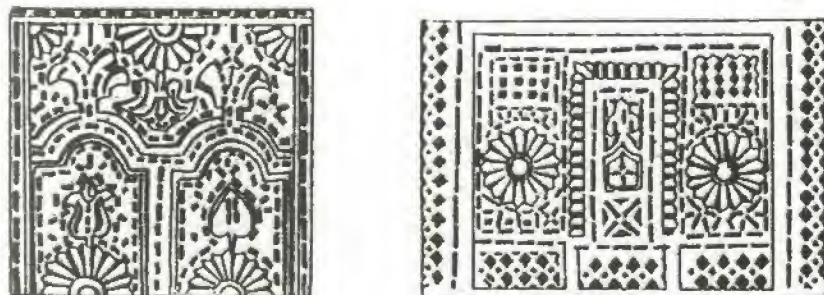


H



The arch, on account of overall development in craft and refinement in carving motifs, became beautiful and balanced (Illus 54).

Besides arch lotus combination, the arch was developed into decorative niche. The niche was in fact, miniature of the arch on the chambers. The niche went on changing shapes along with the development of the arch. Both had in fact a very close connection, not only in their development but also in overall placing on the grave (Illus 55).



This niche had, in past, a very important place in religious decorative architecture of Jains and Hindus. But it went on slowly changing its complexion, and is since, considered a very secular thing in the decorative art of Western India.

The side supports of coffin, carved out of slabs of stone, made its impact and the artisans now experimented with the levels (Illus 49 and 54 B). This paved way for the high relief decorative schemes, which were carved usually on chamber and later also, headstone (Illus 56).

Illustration 56



The structure, at this moment was shedding off its differences and was advancing to a uniform shape. The one chamber graves, after gaining height, tended to acquire the second chamber. Thus, the classical structure was acquired, where all space stood imaginatively employed with various motifs carved on compartments, initially created for necessity, later, becoming part of the overall decorative scheme (Illus 57).

Illustration 57

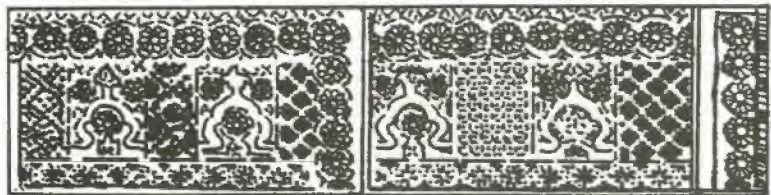


Illustration 58
(detail)



The development of funeral structure, at such rapid pace was made possible, only because of two interrelated factors; commitment of artisans to attain perfection and the liberty of choice by the non-conservative population. In such conducive atmosphere, it was possible for the low lying graves to grow into such a mature and balanced structure, within three hundred years, which has no parallel in grandeur and beauty.

The attainment of classical structure and its general acceptance, forced artisan to concentrate on decorative panels, to create, more and more new motifs. Thus, the broader side of chambers received variety of motifs, enclosed in square and rectangular panels, quite independent of each other (Illus 58).

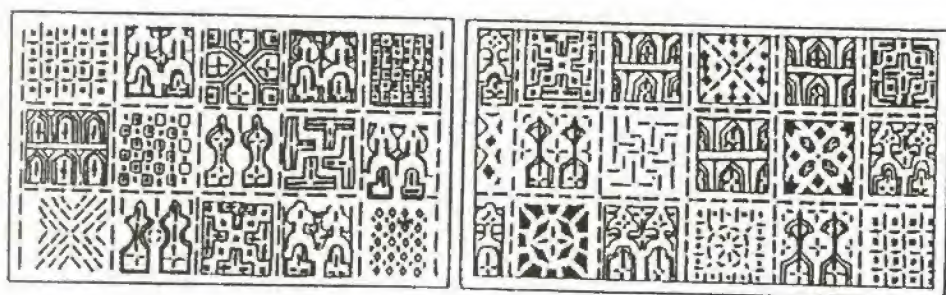


Illustration 58

At this stage, when carving was being done on 2 to 3 different levels, and certain frets and panels were made to bulge out of the surface in high relief, for couple of inches or so, the simple tracery got its way on long and narrower spaces, for example, on the intervening steps between headstone and upper chamber. Those tracings from Hindu temple decorative schemes were brought in by the guilds of artisans, who had chance of working in wide expanses of western India, on projects of various religious communities.

In fact, the tracery began appearing in late crude period, when the structure started getting the look of a full grown grave. Its normal place was within the lance-fret. It stayed there, being its main decoration, throughout classical and then the transit period. Its second place was the markings of petals inside the flower, during that age, though this supplied very little space, thus it is scarcely noticed. In the third position, it usually occupied the vicinity of lance-fret, no matter it was utilised within the lance or not, it was used under or over it.

As it was strictly a geometric rendering, thus, it could hardly be taken out of the general labelling and placed in the particular narrow slot of different category.

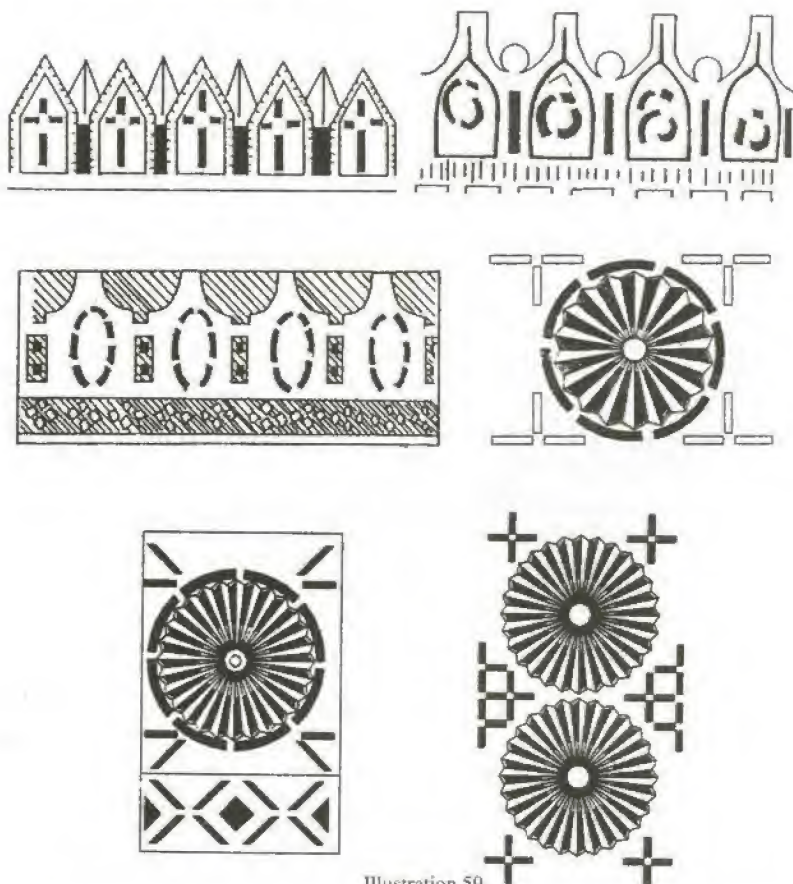


Illustration 59

The lance fret was usually employed to decorate the edge, upper or lower, of a step, in the structure, which went on shedding its size. At every step, as it gets higher, the tips of lance started jutting out over the next step. It was very popular and almost a must in every grave (Illus 59). Its popularity coaxed the artisans to experiment with the new designs of fret, and floral styles were adopted as those were employed in Hindu buildings, in past. But this cannot be termed as a popular trend, as its examples are scarce, thus, it could be presumed that these couldn't get along. It reappeared soon after, as the structure matured, independently, on one of the thin long tier between headstone and the chamber (Illus 60).

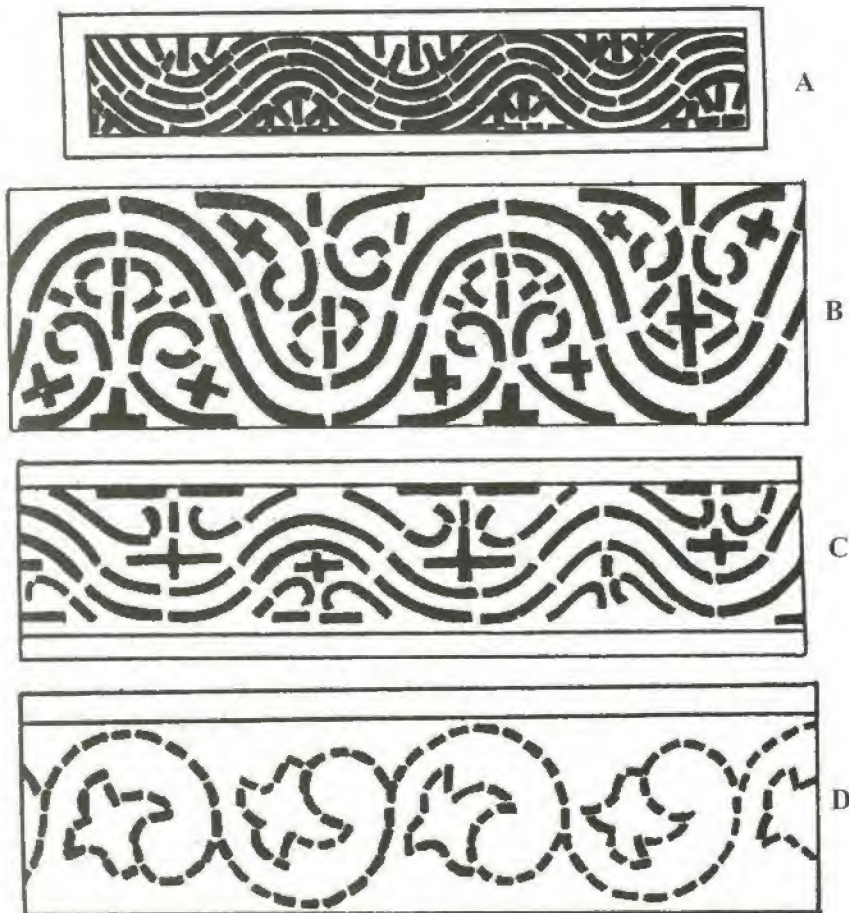


Illustration 60

Here, it showed its full growth as a form of decoration. The wavy lines, turning gently at right distances, made great impact. Remaining spaces were again filled with small independent lines, appearing on every such turn, at approximately same distance. In fact, these popularised the whole scheme. The initial simple schemes were developed a bit, but never into very complex design. All later tracery fret are very similar in nature, with a slight variation of a stroke here, a stroke there. Its wavy nature defied any strict measuring and rendered its execution easy. This fact was immediately grasped and exploited by the relieved artisan, to be employed at places, where he had failed to envisage any other geometric motif: within panels and besides carved designs. Remaining space was used, with little tracing strokes to achieve the maximum sculpted look (See Illus 54 and 55).

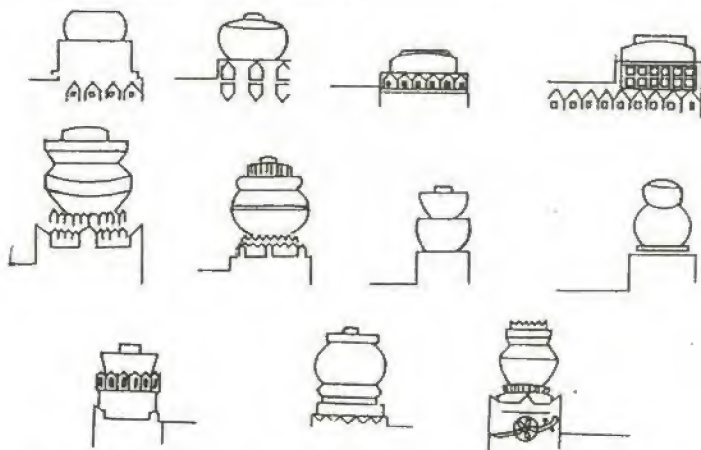
Not only in panels, but where upper chamber was receiving a single decorative scheme, running full length of it, the space between high relief motifs was utilised with tracings, filling in the gaps and fitting in completely.

During the late classical and at inception of transit periods, the tracery was used in certain panels adorning lower chambers or platform. These are usually in geometric designs.

On *Chhatris* or *Chaukhandis*, the tracery is employed extensively, during late classical period. It is usually seen on the lintels and pillars, especially, at *Pir Patho* and *Chaukhandi* graveyard.

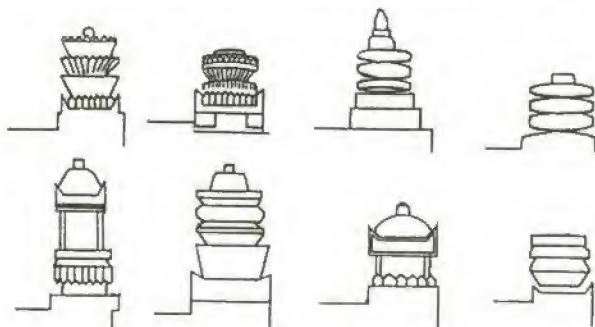
The turban had undergone various changes meanwhile and was acquiring shapes, quite independent of its original derivative: the headgear. Nevertheless, it was used on the male graves, it shows that the spirit was not lost (Illus 61).

Illustration 61



The classical graves rose to great heights, and required three to four chambers at times. The turban over these graves was also getting higher shaft. However, that could not make its impact (Illus 62). There are quite a good number of such turbans, which have been cut into magnificent shape, nearly resembling crown.

Illustration 61



Very few new or lesser used motifs could be found on the classical graves (Illus 63 ABC).

In the square or rectangular decorative panels, on the upper chamber, or on sides of platform (in cases, where the lower chambers were converted into platforms), new motifs were executed. Otherwise, the flower-arch combination in its various forms, decorated the panels (Illus 64).

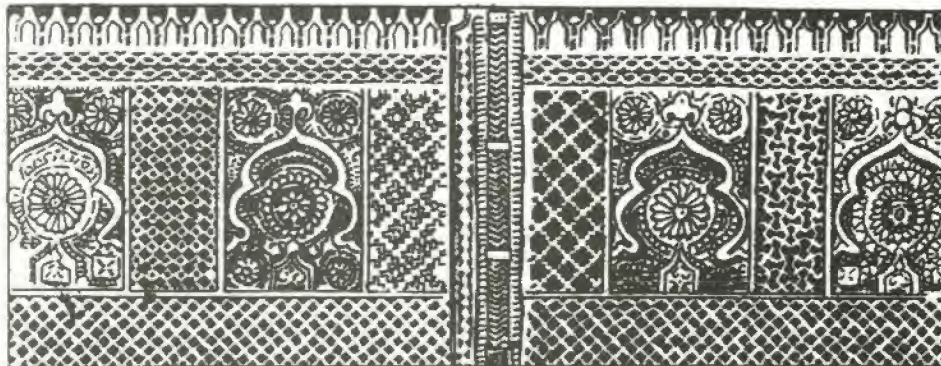


Illustration 64

This classical structure received maximum possible decoration. The lower chamber received knob like thibets on each corner, which later on were the cause of the conversion of this chamber into platform, acquired prominence (Illus 65 ABC). These pillarets were then joined together by punctured stone screen, in true spirit of the times.

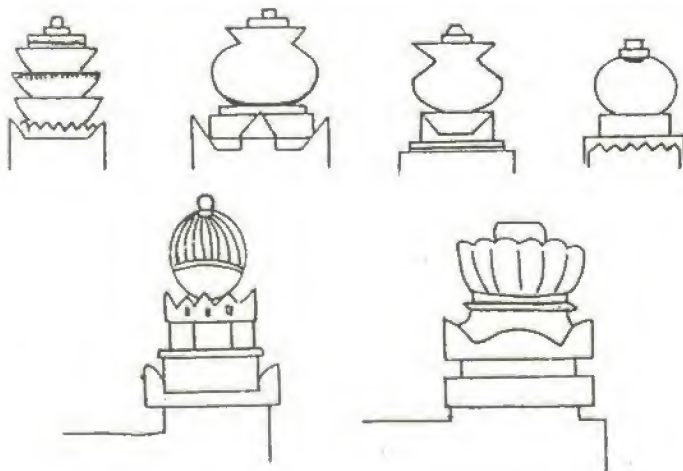


Illustration 65

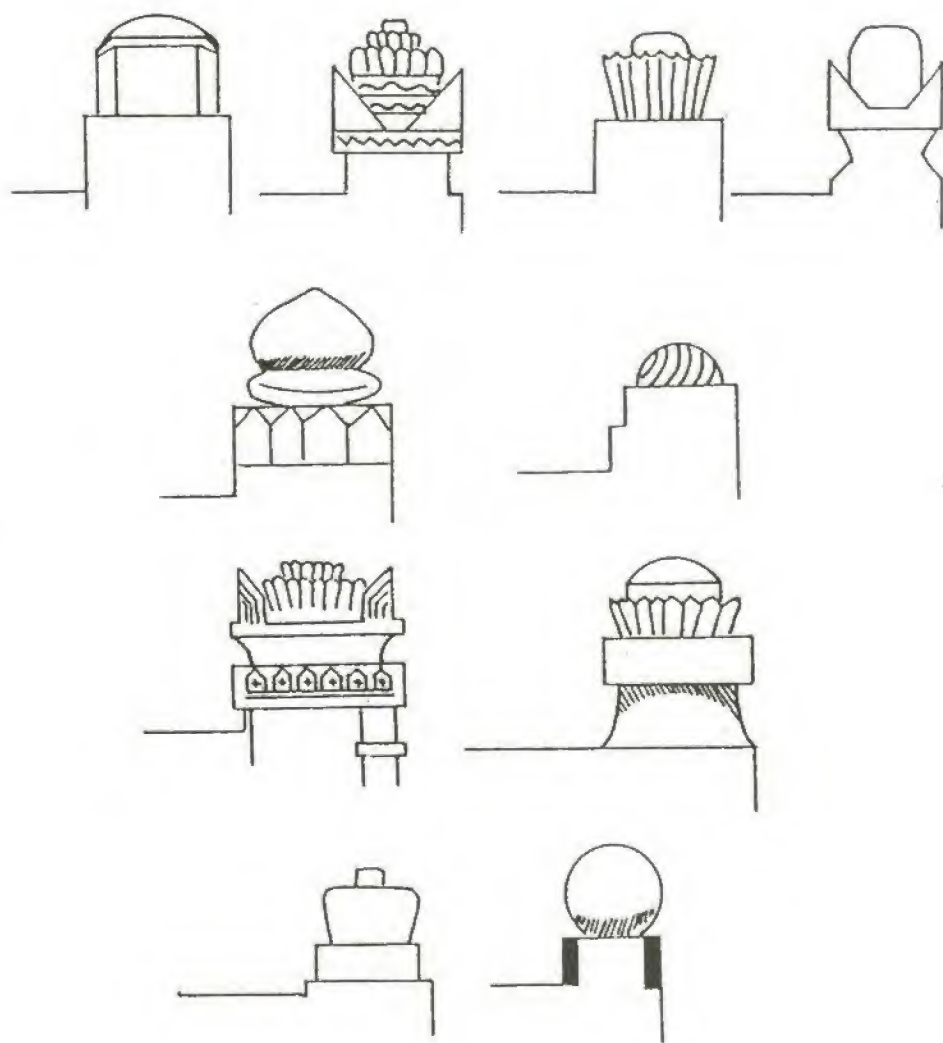


Illustration 66

Here, two things happened, as a matter of natural disposition. The classical structure went on evolving, where its chambers got converted, gradually into platforms, first went the lower chamber, as we have already discussed, then went the upper chamber. This was made possible on account of placing more than one grave over a platform. The common chamber of two or more graves, invited the artisan to assert his ingenuity still further. He did convert it into a platform, too, and marked its corners with the similar pillaretes and similar screen was put there as well.

Second thing was to preserve the classical structure, in all its elements. This outlook, though vulnerable was definitely conservative. The structure went on being carved, but kept on losing its luster. Same decorative motifs, worked in similar age old combination lost the spontaneity, which otherwise was the backbone of its beauty. Artisan deprived of challenge, did away with all ingenuity, started losing accuracy, corners lost their sharpness and the structure looked dull. That might have caused the abandonment of classical form, in favour of much-liked modern structure.

The turban likenesses, which were made to adorn the corners of the platforms, (Illus 65 BCDE), compelled the artisans to abandon these while carving turban. New patterns derived out of older ones and few new ones, came to occupy the prominent place (Illus 66).

The turban likenesses, which went to the corners of platforms were immediately standardised, as they were assigned the permanent role of screen posts. The heads of the posts are few varieties (Illus 67 ABCDEFG), of these E&F acquired permanent position and remained there for complete one and a half century.

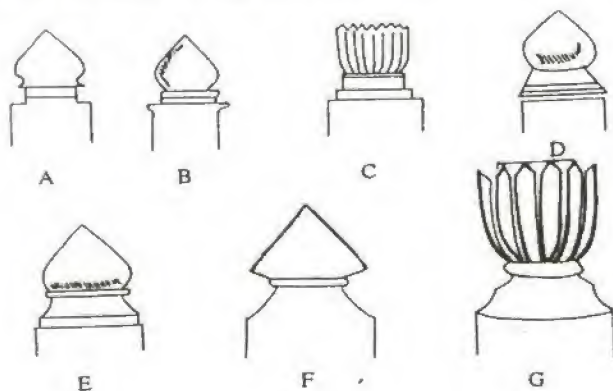


Illustration 67

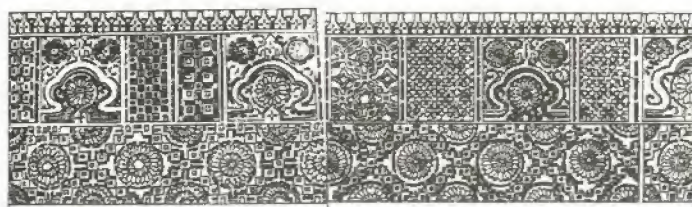
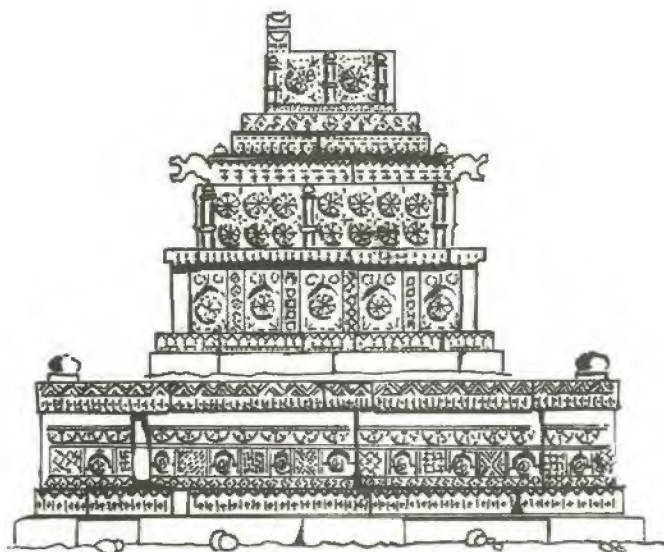


Illustration 68

The decorative scheme, due to inception of platform, acquired true sense of space. Till the coming in of the wide and long platform, the decorative scheme was always limited to the placement of certain panels and their dividers in imaginative way, and sometimes, even deprived of balance.

Now the whole length of platform got one combination of a few popular motifs, running from one end to the other and usually all around four sides.

The mature and classical, as we saw was structure, fully groomed and brought to its maximum height, on the one hand and also achieved 100 percent carving, meticulously designed on the other hand. It employed the skills of an artisan to its fullest, in combining the geometrical motifs, hitherto, employed and developed: the tracteries, the jutting over border frets and the multilevel high relief carving. Thus, a balance was achieved that could be labelled as an achievement of centuries of blending of skills of artisans, with nomadic spirit of independence.

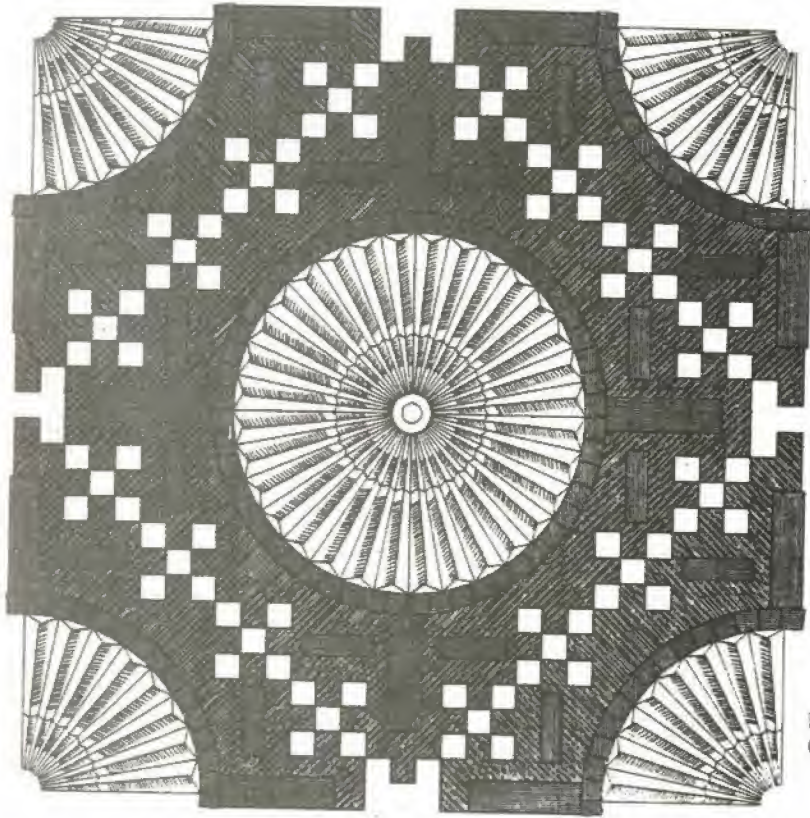


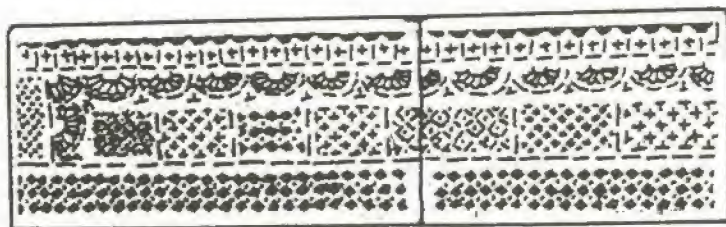
Illustration 68
(detail)

The turban over these structures was same and was developed from the same design (Illus 66).

With addition of platform, the motifs were a bit reshuffled. The omnipresent lotus arch and niche were distributed with sensibility. This experiment was appreciated all around (Illus 67, see also Illus 64). The flower, by then, had been used in various styles. Half lotus fret was used long ago; now, quarter flower was used in filling the corners of the panels. It acquired prominent relief and ran in frets, through the length of the platform. It also acquired smaller flower within. Thus, compact lotus became most popular motif (Illus 68).

In these times, new patterns were carved, along with those in vogue. These were primarily derivatives of older ones, and came on the sides of platform or on the upper chamber, executed in rectangular panels. The new motifs were imported from the eastern neighbours, in the form of tracings and flower frets.

Illustration 69



The balanced placing of the decorative panels on the chamber or on platform initiated artisan to yet another road: the continuous carving of single combination of the older motifs, through the whole length of platform or lower chamber, whatever the case may be (Illus 69).

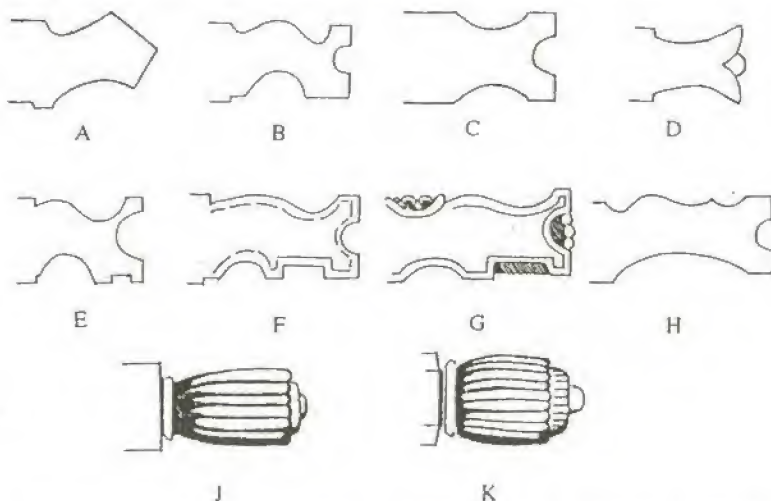


Illustration 7

In this manner, new motifs in freehand and advanced geometric patterns, started to appear on this part of the graves; but by then the structure of the graves, too, underwent a change. This might have been due to the increasing communication and improved relationship, with the settled urban centres. Here, we will discuss another aspect, before we return to the transit period.

The realisation of the fact that the body of the dead is being communicated through catafalque and not in the coffin, inspired artisan to carve the chamber more, look alike catafalque. This gave rise, first to the side supports, brackets enlargement of the catafalque, then, the biers were introduced. These enlargements are supposedly beams by which it is picked up and transported to shorter distances, on shoulders.

The upper chamber acquired biers of the coffin, two on each northern and southern ends. This feature also came to stay; therefore, it is seen during the whole classical and late classical

periods, which almost lasted, two centuries. It has got various presentations, but there is hardly any doubt that it always got the deserved attention of the men at work (Illus 70).

Generally, there presents similarity in the design of the biers, as expected these are not extravagantly off the mark. The only variations are seen on classical graves like Illustrations 70 J and K.

This vanished with the inception of transit graves, as the chamber had shed off its role and was transforming into platform.

The chain is one of those motifs which are coming down from the periods of Hindu, Jain and Buddhist Temples. This was generally shown holding the bell. The usual place of it was pillars or besides the niches.

The chain motif could be seen on the mausoleum of Jam Nizamuddin, at Makli. Here, the chain is employed in holding not exactly the bell but some other things that is vases, circular objects, etc. In the area under discussion, it is not employed in exactly the same manner, but purely in decorative mode. As nothing hangs from it, it only hold lotus from all four sides. This building is from early 16th century.¹¹

The chain, used in its original job, is shown carved on a crude grave of Jam Radho Jokhio at *Chaukhandi* graveyard, in Malir. Here, it adores the headstone, facing the sky. This chain could be seen on still earlier graves, in Kohistan area as well as in Gujrat.¹² the chain is seen holding the flower in circle. In *Hinidan*, a beautifully carved chain is seen hanging from rosette.¹³ identical use of chain could be expected on similar structures, thus available examples are sufficient to recognise the running diamond, on low lying early graves, as portrayal of the chain (Illus 71).

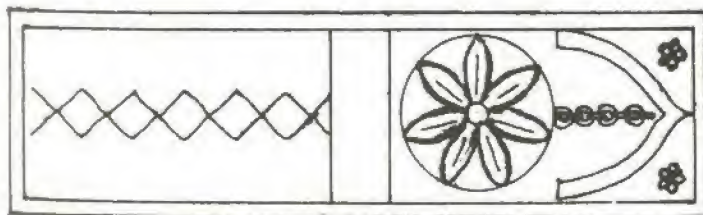
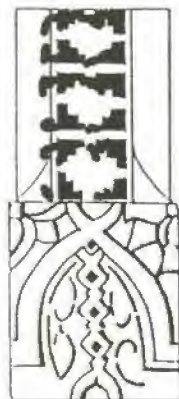


Illustration 71

However, depiction of the chain truthfully carved quite often occurs. Holding something, it is found in middle period, on single chamber graves. One comes across the chain holding a vase or flower, on some fairly good structures. In most of the early classical graves, the chain is seen either holding the side supports of coffin or besides it (Illus 72).

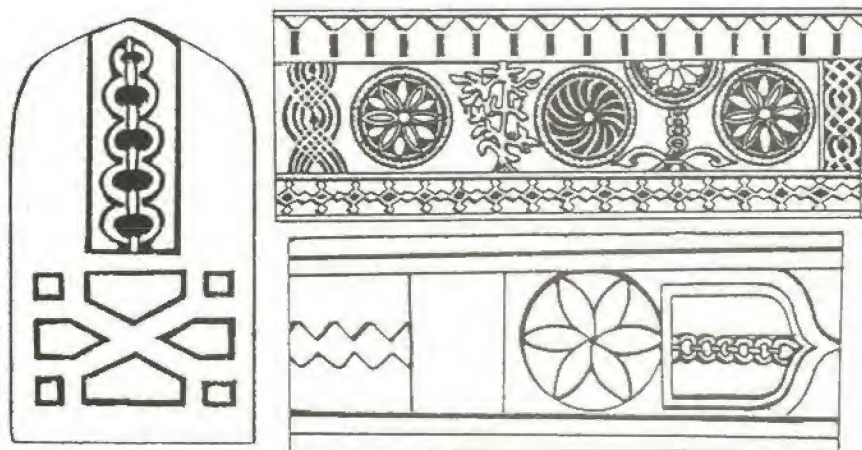


Illustration 72 During the classical period, use of chain is at the minimum, it had almost vanished. However, it reappeared swiftly on classical graves. Here, it formed the borderline of small panels, and the dividing time of large decorative schemes. It went up to headstone. The use continued in transit period, on similar lines. In this period, when Kohistanis built graves over their dead under influence of urban centres, they decorated the headstone with chains, following the general tends of the graves of the elite groups that is the Mughals, the Turkhans, etc., (Illus 73).

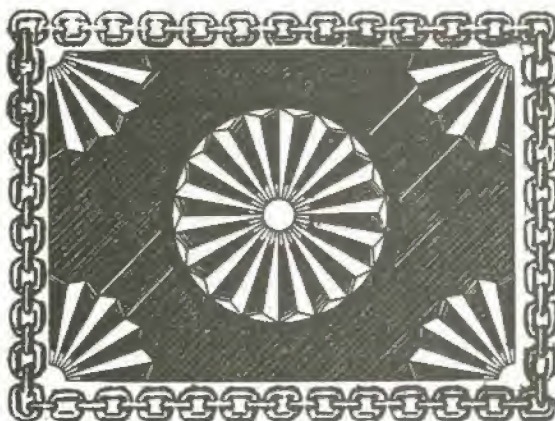


Illustration 73

Depiction of coffin, in stone started pretty early. Understandably, when the chamber became a permanent feature and artisans had achieved mark of full space utility, the skill and imagination went further. The chamber received side brackets, similar to the wooden supports of the coffin (Illus 74).

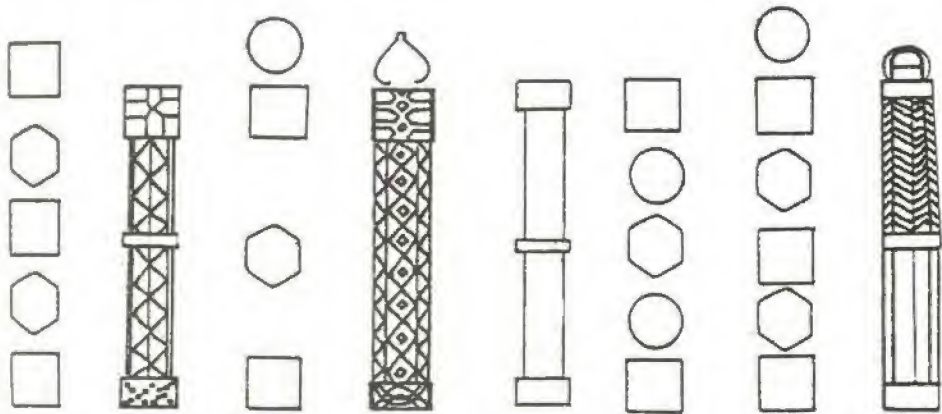


Illustration 74

These were seen as early as the late crude period, and were in their simplest form. The corners of these brackets were square and shaft was hexagonal with circular ring in the middle, this may be depicting the rope, which tied the box. Such six brackets were holding the coffin, three on each side. It went on getting better treatment and was beautiful further. It now received the circular knob-like head and plenty of carving. The rope was not portrayed as proper brackets which had already received so much decoration.

The coffin, in early classical period received, four more brackets, one each on narrower ends. Here, the use of chain on ends of such brackets could be seen. This might have been part of original strengthening method, which has found its way on the graves. This elaborate execution of these brackets, however, looked out of place and soon it was simplified. On classical graves, it gives an impression of being more natural than just a decoration piece. Till that time simplification had reached at its fullest. The medium carved pieces mark the midway of evolution (Illus 75).

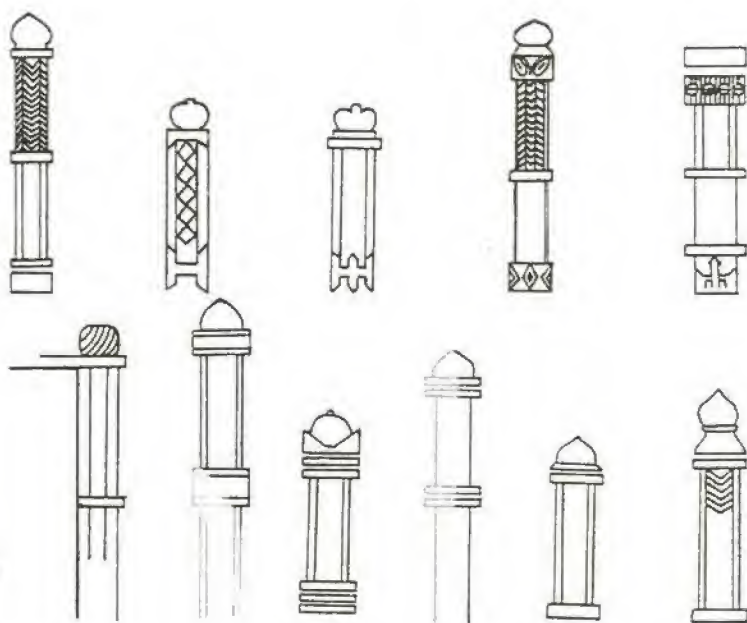


Illustration 75

Interestingly, this feature of coffin, employed on the chamber, was sometimes even used on the corners of the platform. During late classical period, the element of decoration had overtaken the spirit, thus, it persisted for considerable period. These brackets are employed even on the headstone, which makes it more than obvious that it was popular as decorative motif. In late classical graves, this was in excessive use. At this time, once again, simplicity was shed and excessive decorations were applied on these.

During the transit period, it was seen no more. It may be because of its identification as side support of a coffin; secondly, due to transformation of chambers into platform, and lastly, because of inception of another alternate feature.

The platforms were given low screens all around. This was much adored. This, too, was the result of increasing communication and it announces the end of isolation which these semi-nomadic people had imposed upon themselves, primarily, because of their nature. This ushered in new era of some novel economic preferences, which started affecting old traditions.



Illustration 76

The Kalhoras had taken up use of low screens on the platform of the buildings from Mughals. Ghulam Shah's mausoleum has many stone punctured screens. Same style was used in Kohistan quite extensively. The screen went on adorning the transit period graves, but it became poor and shed off many of its earlier and most fine designs.

The screens of punctured stone were introduced, when the platform underneath classical structure had become a regular feature. The developing artisans went on improving more decoration, adding to the structure. Low screen is supported by small posts of about 2 feet height, on all four sides over the platform. Inception of screens coincided with the age of classical structure. When the funeral architecture was fully mature and artisans could add no more to the grave itself, the screen was added. It seems to be natural follow-up to the advent of platform.

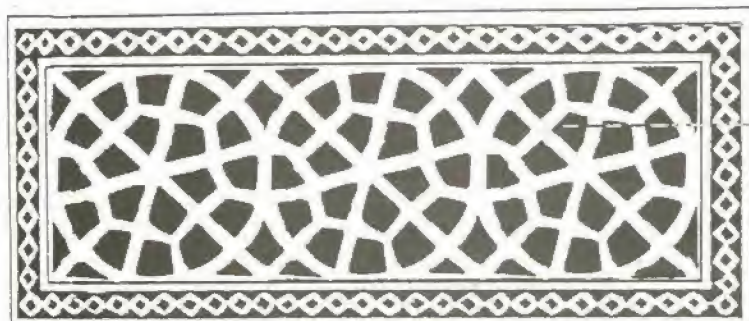
Fully groomed artisan, executed the screen with meticulous care, and without much caring about the matching designs, he puts together various designs, on one structure. Any particular design never got prominence with early examples. The artisan was concerned only to show his ability at executing varied designs. These were cut with mastery, no trace of artistic naiveté was found, as if they were already doing it, if not for these graves, then for some other structures. Though the earliest examples of these are found in Sindh, but those are not in similar role. The punctured designs of Summa period were much in use in funeral architecture. Within the area of our study, the screens at Mian Naseer's grave and Mian Ghulam Shah's mausoleum are instances contemporary, if not later to the structures under our study.

There are many instances of 13th, 14th, 15th and 16th century buildings in Gujrat and Cutch areas, where the screens were employed. Even at Makli, plenty of screens were used, but all these and Gujrati screens were used, but all these and Gujrati screens, used in Hindu or Muslim buildings are different from the screens used over these graves.

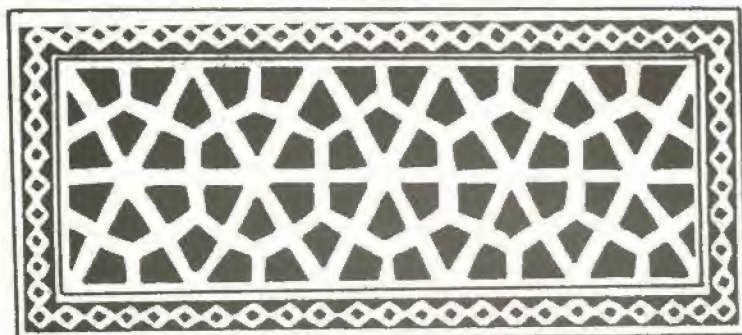
The inception of screen in their role of railings around the grave is fairly late; that's why it's not found in the early classical period graveyards such as *Bala*, and the *Baluch Tombs*, and also *Bhawani*. The screens are therefore found with late classical and transit period graves.

The screens used here are based on geometric patterns executed in fairly large size, unlike minutely cut-screens of Mughals, usually having floral designs. The sandstones screens, are of similar stone, from which the graves are built. Thus, it forms an organic whole and looks part and parcel of it (Illus. 77).

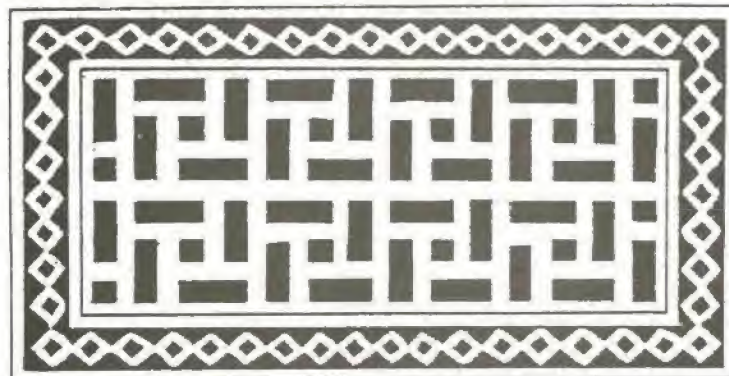
A



B



C



D

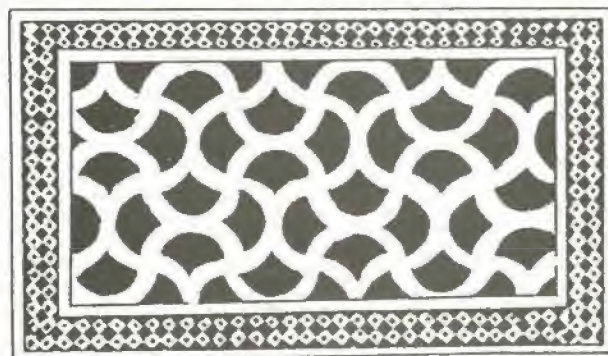
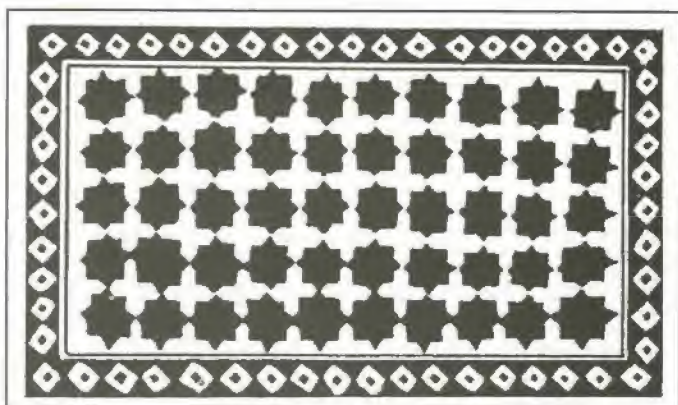


Illustration 77



E



F

The initial phase received varieties of screen designs and that could be termed as the earliest and richest period.

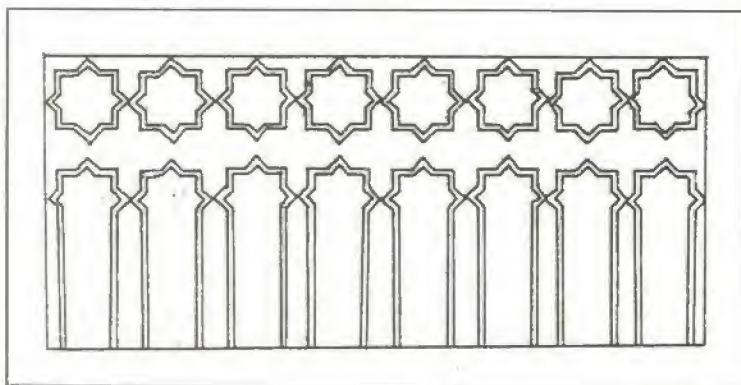


Illustration 78

At least, ten designs could be counted. In early transit period, the screens with earlier designs persisted, but in late transit phase the earlier rich screens were gone, many new experiments were done but then the worst of the lot, however, persisted. (Illus 78).

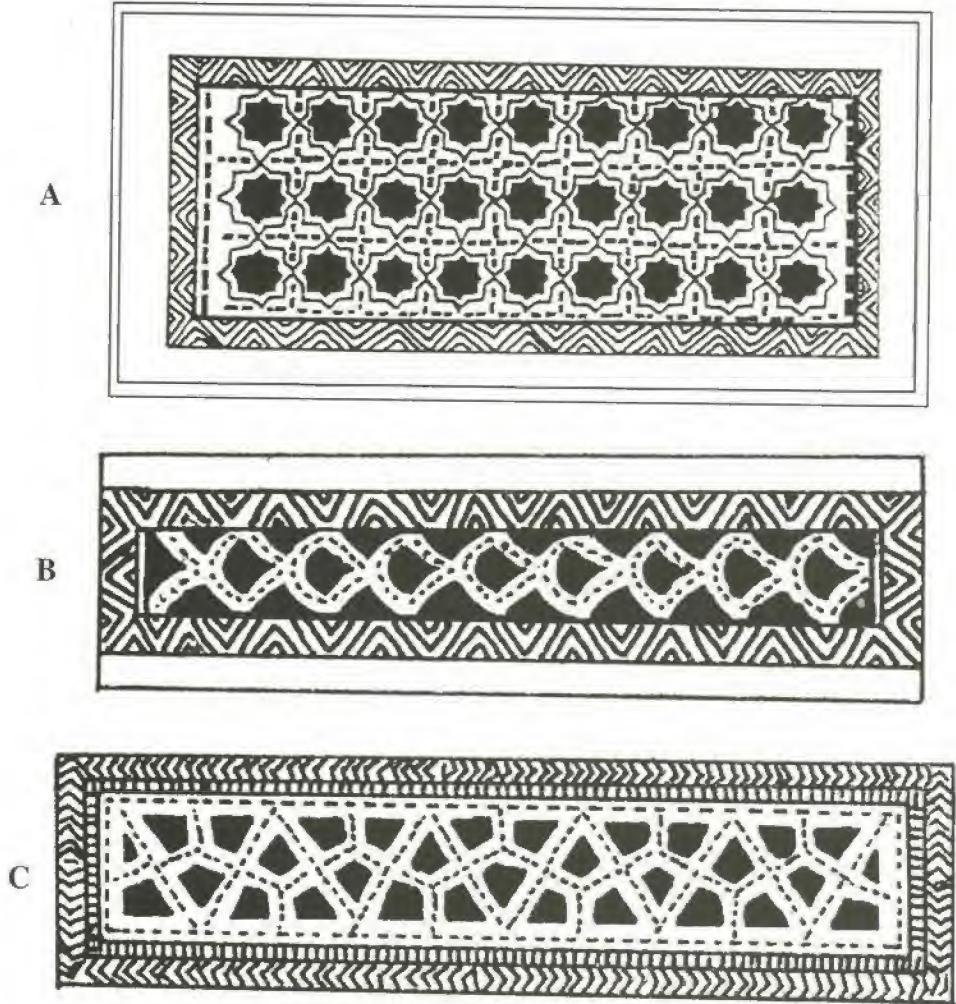


Illustration 79

An interesting decorative element of transit period was employed on screens too, it was the appearance of decorative dots. These could be seen, adorning almost all later screens (Illus 79). Another aspect of the screen, which is noticeable, is the prime panel of the screens, that is the middle one, having additional triangular TUGHRA like decoration.

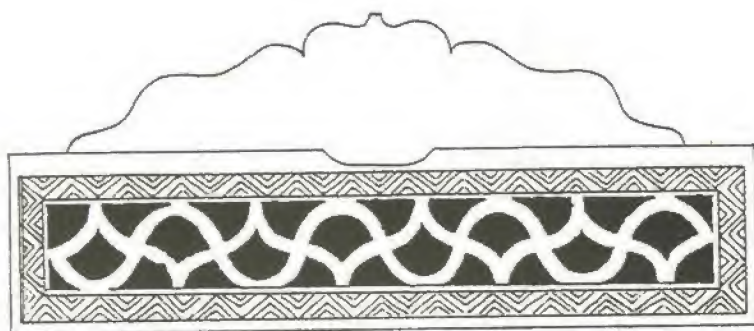


Illustration 80

This element was employed usually on northern side, but there are examples, where it appears over the middle panels on all four sides (Illus 80).

Another thing is the little doorway left in the screen wall, for visitors to climb over the platform. Normally, the space wears simple look, but at occasions, it has got tremendous treatment and a great welcome look is bestowed by placing peacock-shaped blusters on its sides. These peacocks are carved like supports and form prime decoration.

The transition had started, structure underwent some changes, artisan was experimenting, but the old structure too persisted. In its persistence, the classical structure, understandably, had lost its dynamism. The artisan felt no challenge and with lack of initiative, the classical graves became poor in execution. Slowly lesser designs were carved, only one motif continued to be used on each step, and this was enlarged to utilise more space. The look went on deteriorating from bad it went worst and ultimately it was abandoned.

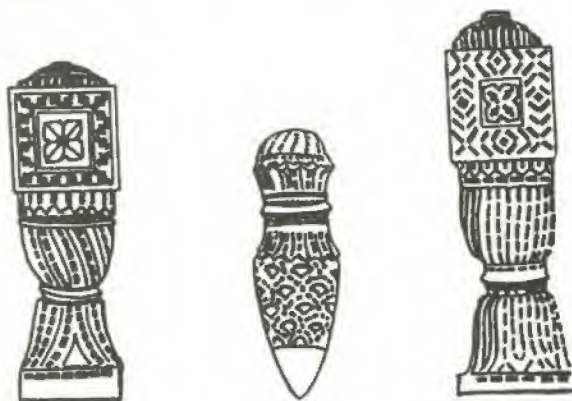


Illustration 81

The transition in structure also occurred in the headstone. The headstone which previously was vertically-placed slab was gone. Instead, came the simple befitting rectangular slab in case of women, and in case of men, the keel top slab was used. Here, the urban influence prevailed. The change was brought in abruptly, not like slow and gradual evolution of the past. Various reasons may be assigned to it. The political atmosphere had changed considerably.

The local Baloch started getting their say in political matters. They had access to the highest podium in the court. Their isolation was approaching to its end. The feudals, due to weak centre at Delhi, were drifting away from age old structure, and started moving towards a mock sovereignty. For this purpose, they needed sympathies of warrior tribes, still more.

These tribes were now in demand, among the aspirant brothers and cousins of *zamindar faqirs* of Sindh. It definitely changed their historical isolation and brought them into mainstream of political life. The Mughal Sobedars at Thatta, and the feudals of Khudabad loomed closer, Prince at Kalat interfered more frequently, as he saw his interests increasing in the area.

The life was now settling down. Clusters of villages emerged and formed a hub of activity, which gave rise to permanent settlements instead of nomads' camps and increased concentration of population at existing villages like at *Liyari, Lakhra, Bela, Uthal, Windar, Hub, Malir, Sakro, Ranokot, Dharaja, Aauranga Bandar, Shah Bandar, Son Laki*, etc.

All these settlements were very near to the burial grounds of these tribes. So the previous practice of transporting the dead body in coffin from long distances was abandoned. Instead, the dead was carried on charpoy (چارپائی), four post bed, on shoulders, rather than on camel back.

The artisans started depicting bed, with certain amount of truthfulness and cherished his professional acumen. The bedposts mainly went to upper chamber, the platform beneath, too, received this at corners, sometimes, though the artisans did use their liberty and twisted this motif by depicting something similar in style, but not exact replica of a bedpost. At some places, it was like a decorative corner end or corner support, at others, there was a pine cone (Illus 81).

The decoration in these times was based on running frets, mainly derived from basic geometric patterns, previously in use. The

difference, however, was that the carving was no more done in high relief. It was on two levels. Still, later, these levels decreased, and it remained almost line work (Illus 82).

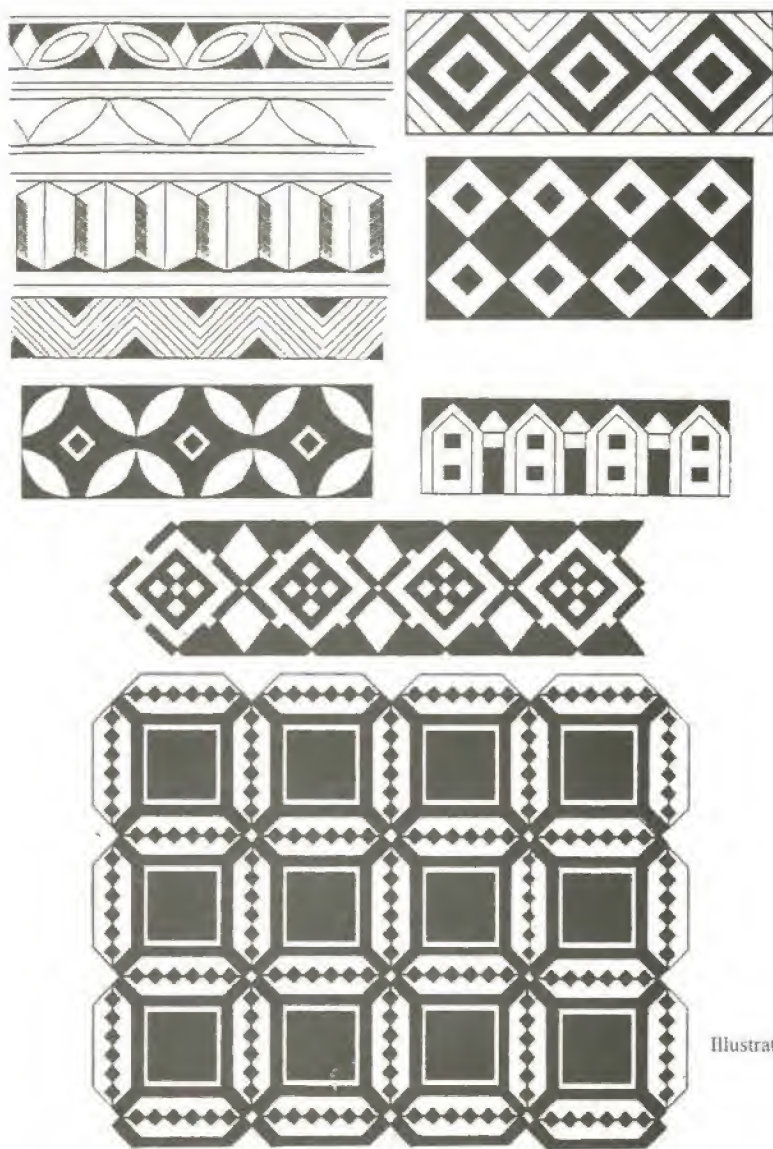


Illustration 82

The motifs in tracing had accuracy and precision of execution, work of a sure hand. There are, however, many such examples, which betray lack of mastery and interest.

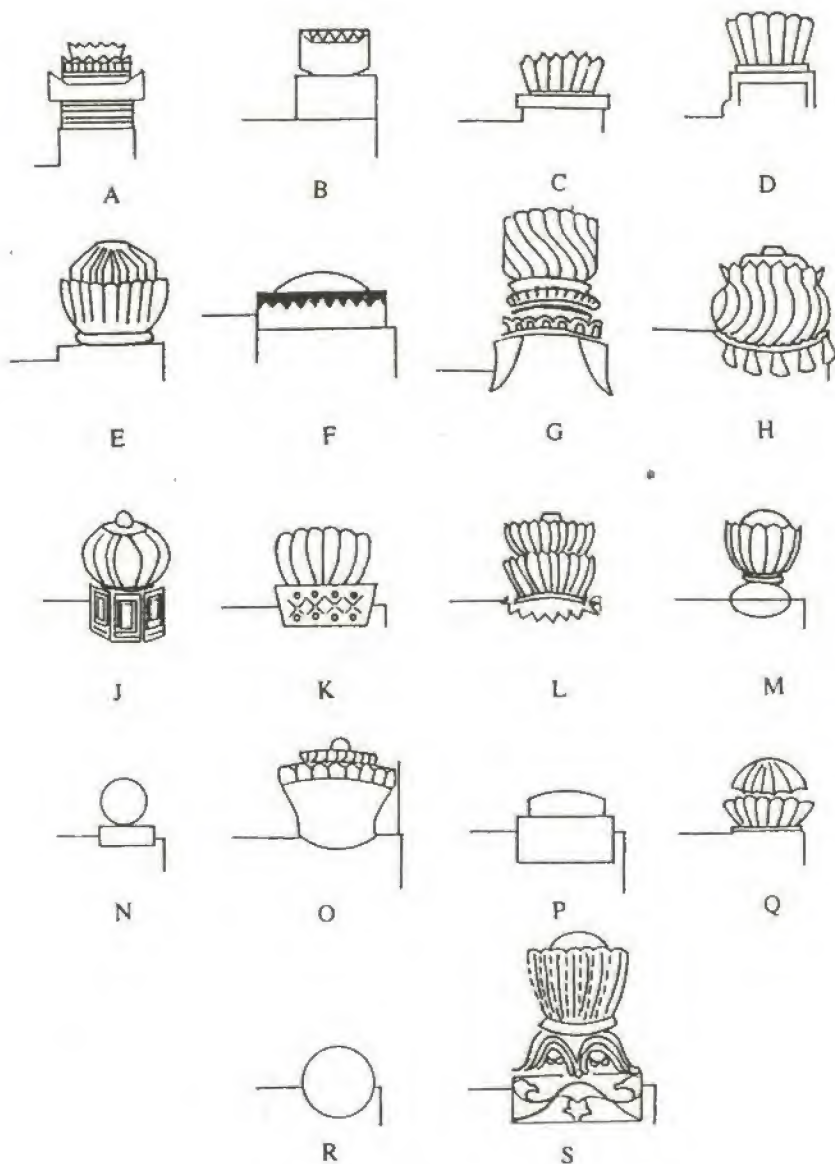


Illustration 83

During early transition, the turban too, underwent change and it generally shed off its grandeur (Illus 83). Though the important structures were carved in good taste, and had remarkable turbans as was on Jam Ghulam Shah's grave, at *Bela*. His grave is in true transit spirit, keeping splendour and charm in balance (Illus 83 S).

There are certain beautiful floral motifs carved as panels, on the platform of the grave in *Jodhpuri* sandstone. It depicts closer influence from east, even though the predominant motifs are geometric (Illus 84 AB).

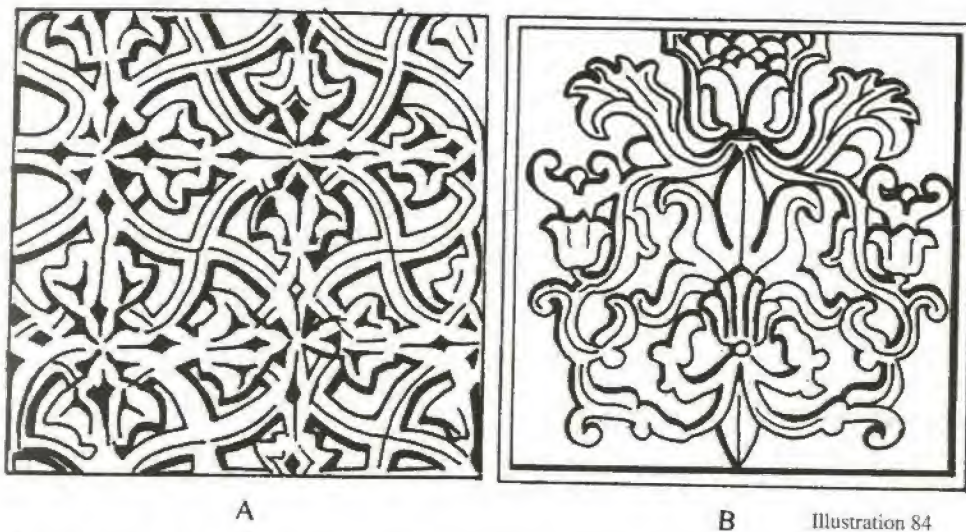


Illustration 84

The arch and lotus is forming main decoration, usually on the platform. Its normal dwelling place as panels and the placing of similar panels were on the platform wall. In new arrangements, its presence was felt still more necessary, and these were carved in continuous designs now. It looked good and got accuracy. The lotus fret was employed too on platforms and got accuracy. (Illus 85).

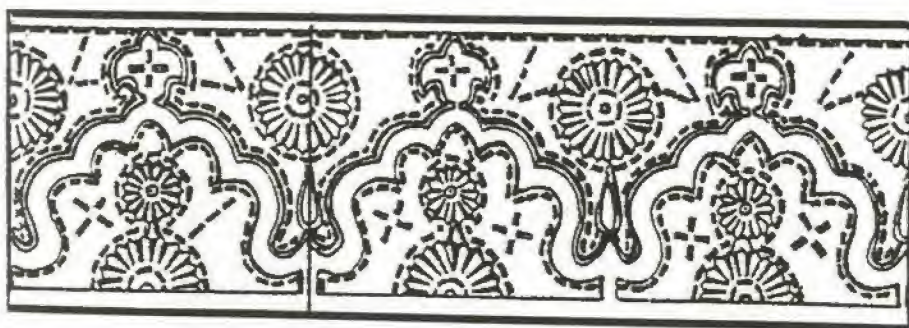


Illustration 85

Along with the new developments, the old decorative schemes of panel placings on the platform did continue, but these panels comprise only those designs, which were used in frets (Illus 86).

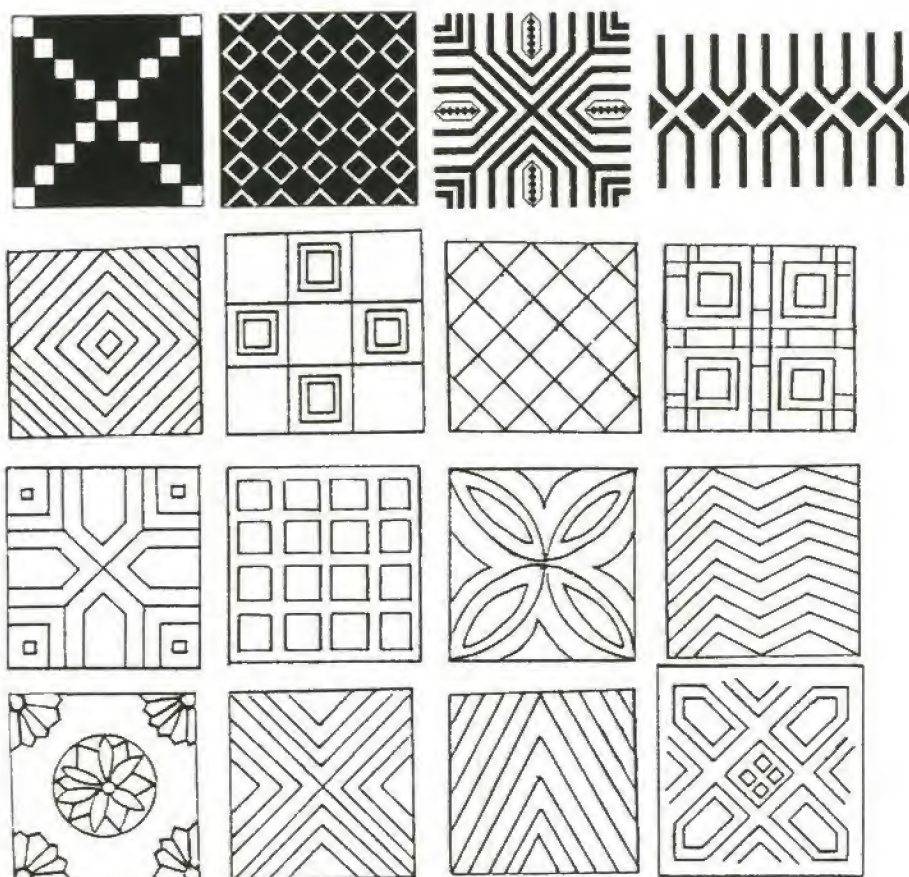


Illustration 86

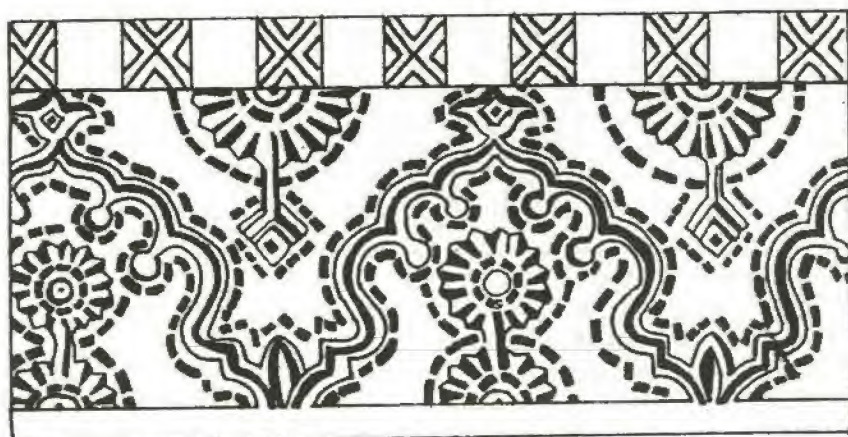


Illustration 87

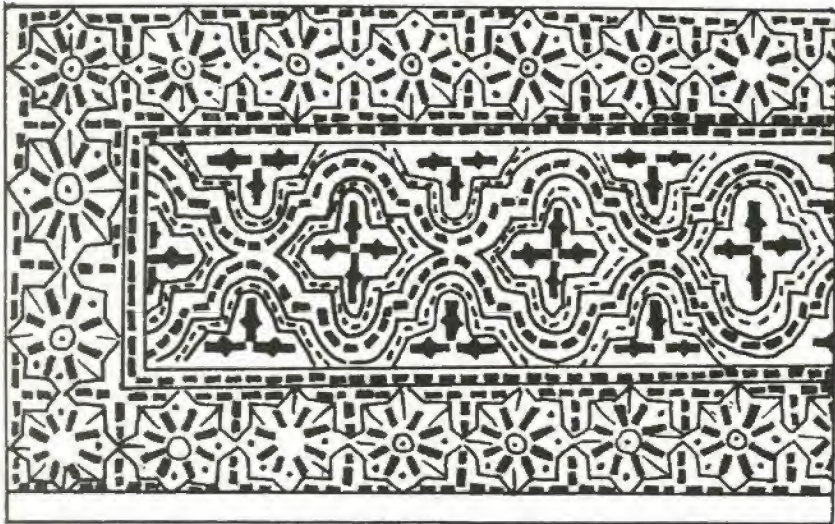


Illustration 88

As and when this transition pushed towards its end, the panels were gone. The steps of pyramidal structure, received a pattern each for its decoration. These ran like frets and were independent of each other. Only where the platform was put beneath a grave, the combination of motifs appeared, but that too was in running design. And also where chamber was present, similar treatment was given (Illus 87). The turban was gone, never to return. The patterns started losing their depth; motifs were no more carved in relief, but cut in lines, tracings looked attractive in these circumstances. Till this final stage was reached, there were many specimen of good workmanship (Illus 88).

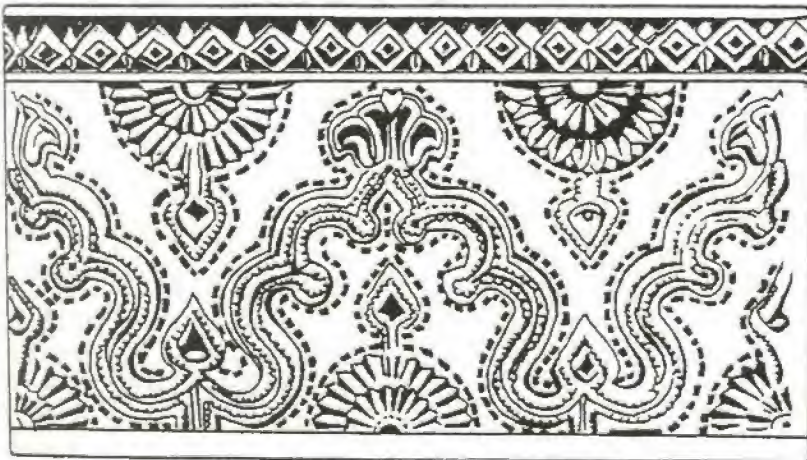


Illustration 89

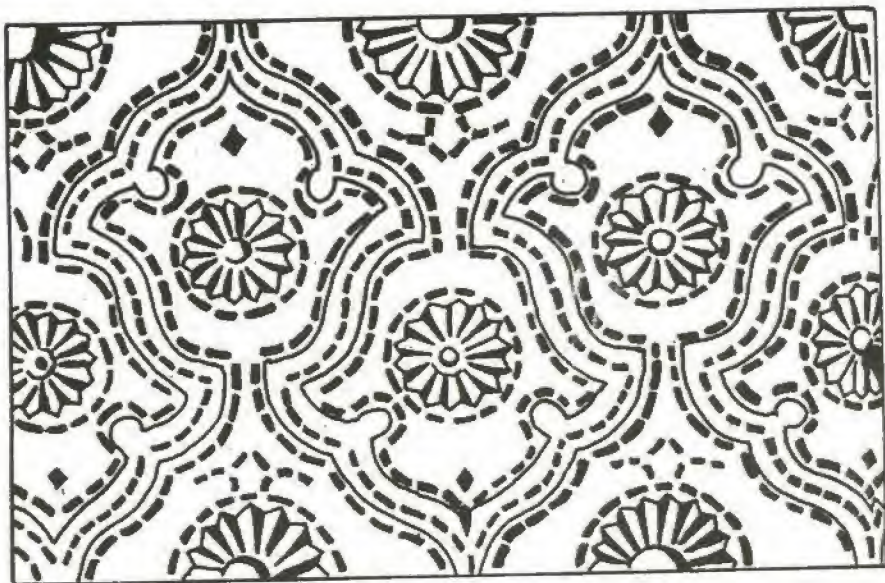
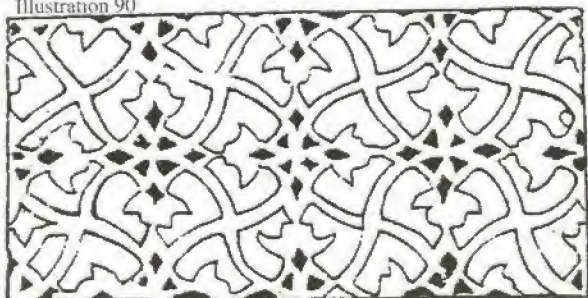


Illustration 89

The late transit graves of *Tando Jahan*, *Pir Lakho* and *Mir Mazars* graveyards at Makli, are in the class of their own. These are similar in treatment and decoration. The grandeur is retained, the structure has symmetrical beauty, but that nomadic spontaneity is gone. It has more floral motifs executed, on double platform (Illus 89).

Illustration 90

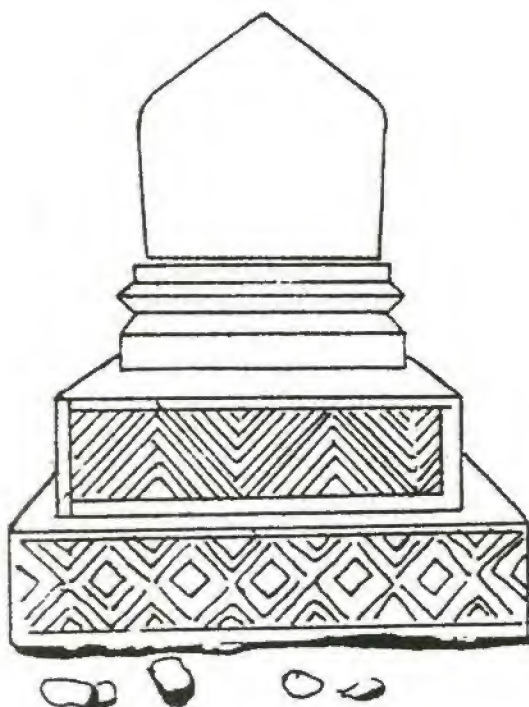


Floral design
from Aunger
Graveyard

The special thing to note is that there are many examples of such floral motifs, which are unique, but these designs could be found at more than one graveyards, quite far from each other, one at Bela, is similar to that at Aunger (Illus 90).

Same is the condition of one motif used at *Mir Mazar's* grave at Makli, and utilised in the platform of *Malik Mureed's* grave at *Raj Malik*.

These graves of early twelfth century Hijra, without chamber or platform, were in simplified form and received minimum decoration. The motifs were made of incised lines and minimum of steps were utilised. The headstone too received little attention, sometimes it did catch fancy of the artisan, but that too lacked beauty.



With the inception of Britishers, old tradition, which was already flickering, was extinguished for good. New trends were pushing forward and priorities changed. Tribal pride was forced into background. England righteousness put emphasis on maintenance of law and order, old chivalrous traditions of cattle raids were no more in vogue, valiant duels were never heard of. Thus the tribal bards, had no more occasions to sing the fallen heroes and beautiful graves were carved no more. ■



The headstone has this unique feature in early transit period,
Adam Shah's graveyard, Sukkur.



The transit period graves have a special feature, where bedposts occurred regularly.
Grave of Jam of Lasbella, in Bela.

The Structure

The unique funeral structure of Kohistan grave is strange yet splendid. Besides being exquisitely carved, it has characteristics of its own, never before seen nor adequately emulated, thereafter. The brief duration of its existence, and the limited area of its practice, has bred many misconceptions resulting in discrediting the forces behind evolution of regional funeral practices. The closer study of development of this tribal art form, will pave the way for in depth understanding of the subject.

In its simplest form the grave is constructed with stone slabs, cut and dressed, to cover the pit. This base may be made of one piece or more; over it a slab, and then another one lay flat or set on edge.

In more elaborate form, this stands over a cenotaph, similarly made out, by placing vertical stone slabs. The structure developed into a very graceful and unique grave, in its maturity. Once this pinnacle was reached, the downhill march started. From that point till it reached the normal and unelaborate grave of present day, the structure passed a few transit stages.

Each transit period graves are rich and in true line with the mature classical graves, deviating a little, but keeping some decorative elements.¹ The late transit stage shows considerable structural alterations. During the later stage, the late transition period grave became poor in design and decoration. This study of the funeral architecture is designed to follow the progress of structure, from its early stage to its maturity and also in its decay, on the evidence provided by the corresponding variations among the relative structures. This being independent of all funeral structures found outside the area of our study, and sensitive only to the influences asserted by the tribal groups involved.

The present Karachi Division, Thatta district and parts of Lasbella, Khuzdar, Dadu, Hyderabad and Badin from such an area, which had a cultural identity of its own. The only exception to it was the creation of new aristocratic class, which came into being with the inception of Arghuns and Turkhans. Thus, the sixteenth and seventeenth century urban centre Thatta witnessed two different cultural currents, side by side, till the end of eighteenth century.

During this period, the Baloch tribal groups moving back to Makran and Iran carried this funeral structure to coastal district of Makran also.

The initial shape given to a grave with the carved stone is one oblong dressed stone slab, put over the ground, marking the burial place. The gradual development made addition of more steps possible. The dressed stone slabs were paved to form a base, over the oblong dressed stone slab to form a two tiered grave (Illus 1). This structure, however, seems to be incomplete. The medium was sandstone: a stone easily workable and handy also.

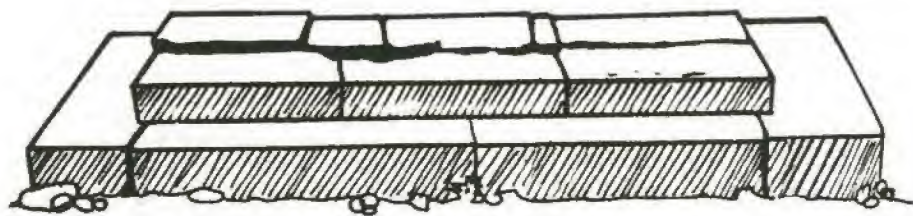


Illustration 1

The upper step made of a single rectangular slab is cut into a design and style, which suggests indigenous imagination (Illus 2).

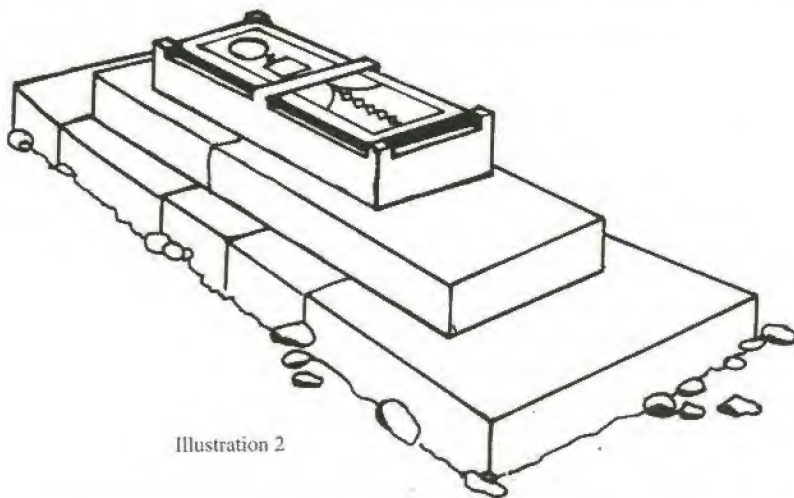


Illustration 2

The early examples of the graves, which are datable, belong to the characters of the famous Sindhi folk romance of '*Mokhi and Matara*', situated in Narathar, in Gadap area. The graves of seven '*Mataras*' the hefty once, sufficiently indicate a mature tradition of grave construction (Illus 3).

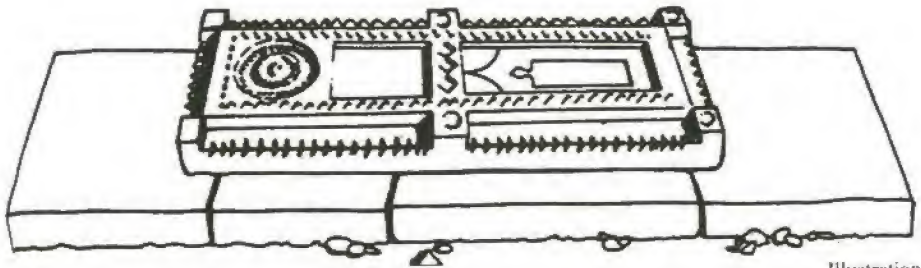


Illustration 3

The folk tradition places these graves somewhere in fourteenth century.² These graves have tiers, upper one cut out of one rectangular slab. The corners are cut in straight oblong strips, crossed at three/four points by parallel strips, dividing the upper surface into two/three rectangular/square portions. The remaining two lower tiers, are made out of various stones assembled together. The middle tier normally comprises three or four slabs, put side to side. In some cases, this tier is made out of two and in rare cases of one huge slab (Illus 4).

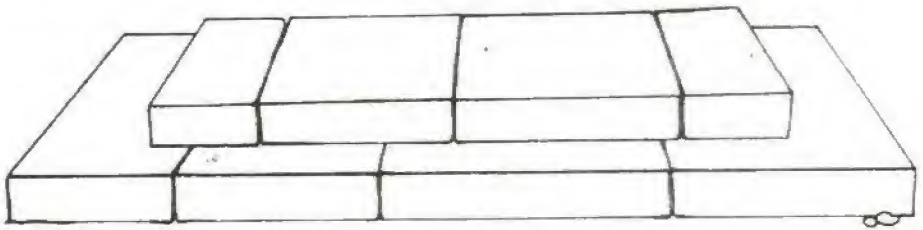


Illustration 4

The lower tier or the plinth is made out of slabs of diverse sizes, paved with clear understanding. The larger pieces are used on outer sides and small ones in the middle, as filters. With this arrangement visible corners of the plinth are made *tidier* (Illus 5).

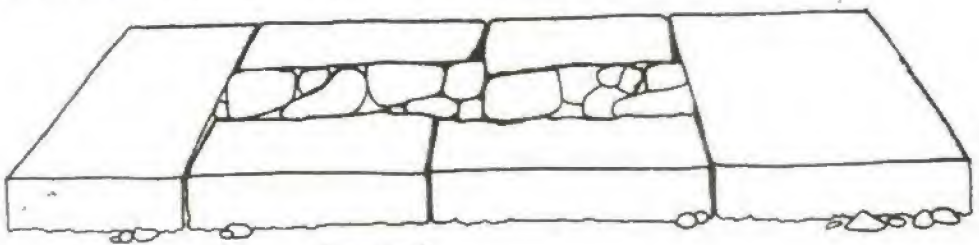


Illustration 5

There are some variations in this normal structure, and these are visible at places where some efforts have been taken to go for better

look. In one such case, each of these three tiers is cut out in one piece. Secondly, the grave has received a stone each at head and foot. Thirdly, the corners of every step are cut in the similar manner as are normally done on the upper tier that is headstone (Illus 6). In another variation, the upper tier comprises two parts, of similar configuration, however, slight variation in decoration do exist. One of the major variation is the lancelet battlement, all cut in one stone piece, placed at the head and foot of the grave (Illus 7). These exceptions to the normal structure are very few, thus, negligible.

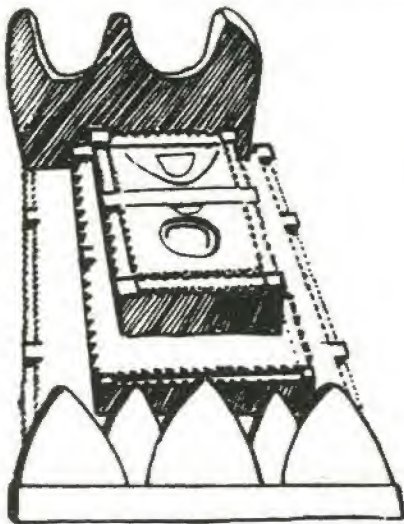


Illustration 6

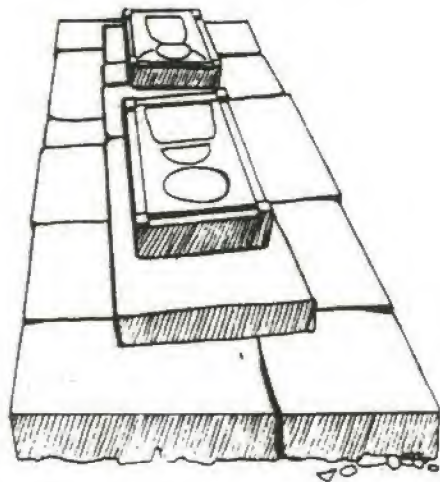


Illustration 7

In graves at Kohistan, conventional Turkish headstone that is the slab standing on the head end of the grave couldn't be found. The top slab, over the structure is called headstone.³

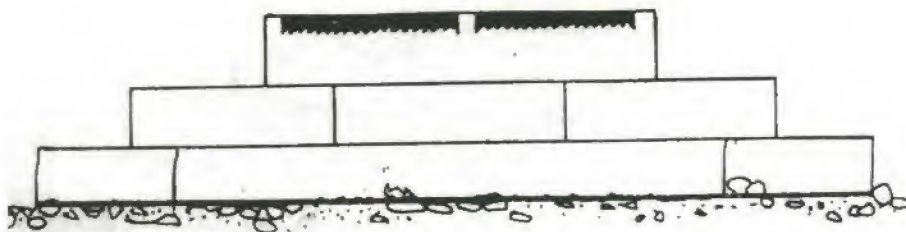


Illustration 8

The normal graves continued to have same shape and design (Illus 8). Only decorative variations could be seen. This structure

persisted in wide area, for considerably long period. The only means to know this is through close follow up, of decoration schemes and minute changes brought into these.

In good examples, as far as the craft goes, we hardly find any change of substance. The difference is addition of another panel in the decor. This rectangular panel is sunken some 7mm to 1cm. and the decoration design comprises same basis (Illus 9).

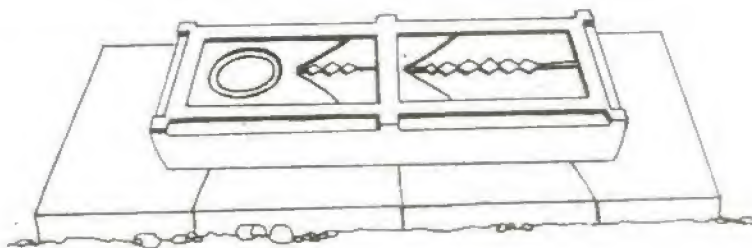


Illustration 9

The three tiered grave formed a standard and it is this one, which stayed for long time, undergoing a lot of transformation in the decoration. But the structure saw a very little development. One such variation is introduction of split level in the middle step. Here, the second tier, which was considerably longer than the upper step or headstone, as per practice, was given low ends on both sides. The difference was merely about 2cm, it was cut breadth-wise (Illus 10).

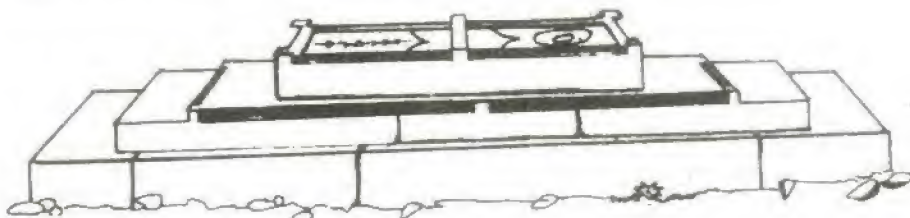


Illustration 10

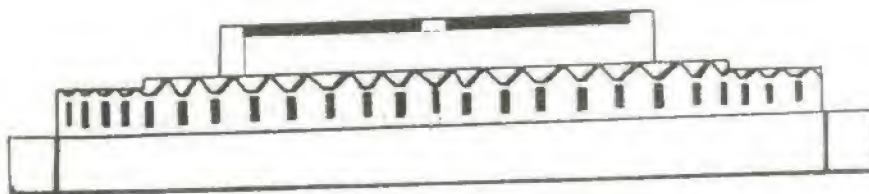


Illustration 11

Another structural variation was the cut border of second and rarely of third step (Illus 11). The structural development of some consequence was possible, when another step was added to three tiered standard grave. Here, the addition of one step not only saw an improvement in decoration, which is quite naturally getting richer every day, but also shortened the structure, a bit of its length (Illus 12).

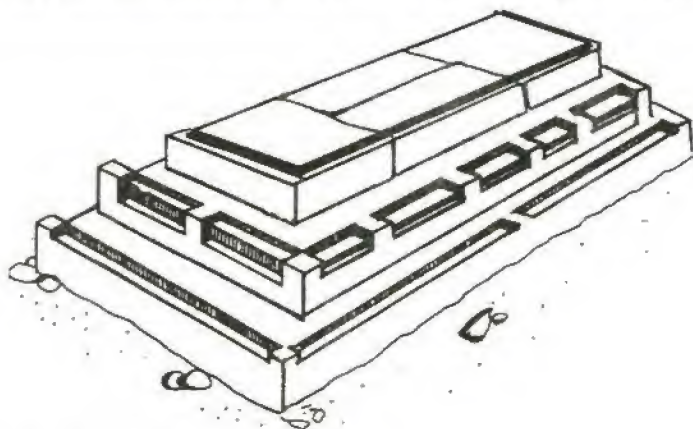


Illustration 11

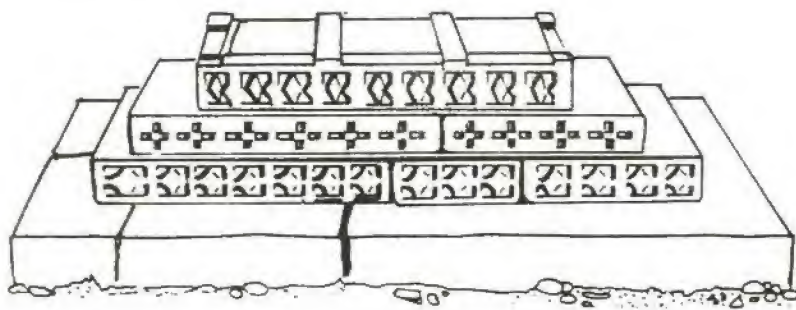


Illustration 12

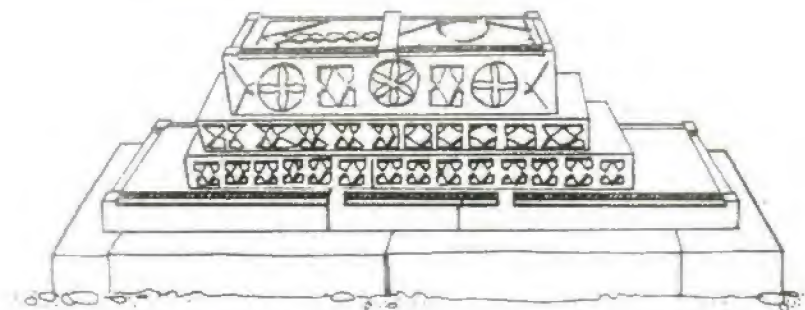


Illustration 12 B

The steps shed their length thus structure seemed to climb upwards. This was caused by the reduced breadth of the headstone, also, as it gains thickness (Illus 13). This thickness increased two-fold in later stages, thus, causing a major shift in the structural look (Illus 14).

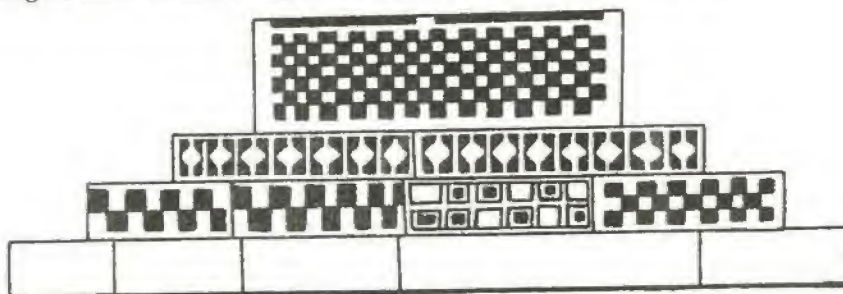


Illustration 13



Illustration 14



Illustration 15

The narrow upper surface, though received conventional decoration, the headstone, however, was completely changed in look (Illus 15). The structure went on gaining steps, simultaneously, it developed in another direction as well. The low lying structure gained a chamber at lower step, sometimes having plinth also. Here, the chamber created by putting stone slabs oblong on their sides, creating a rectangle, and then, by putting stone slabs across that rectangular walls, as they normally made in earlier graves, thus, second step was created (Illus 16).

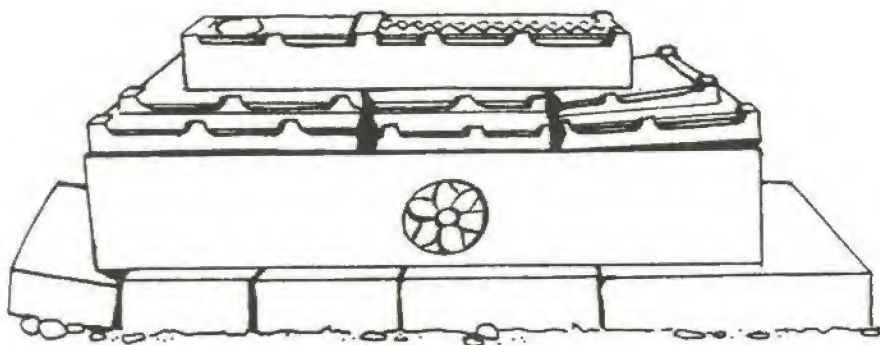


Illustration 16

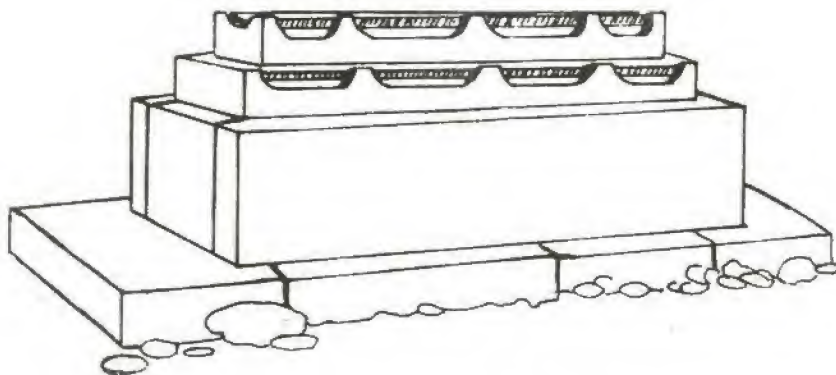


Illustration 17

The rectangular sarcophagus was made, initially of two long and two short slabs (Illus 17). Later, the longer side was made of two pieces, as the procurement and handling of longer slabs might have been inconvenient. Here, the construction method underwent a slight change. The narrower ends slabs were no more sandwiched, these overlapped one end on opposite corners (Illus 18).

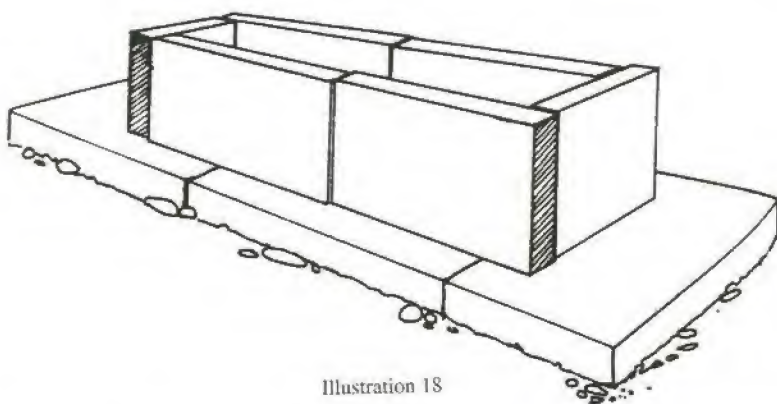


Illustration 18

But soon this gave way to the permanent scheme, which remained with the structure for all times to come, sustaining every change and development. The side ends came out and covered longer slabs (Illus 19).

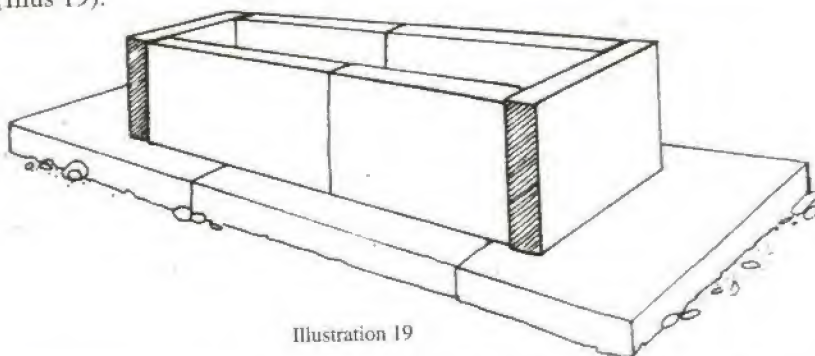


Illustration 19

Structurally, another slight change was practiced that is constructing double plinth. Thus, the structure went high and more steps were added. This practice also added steps in the low lying graves, which sometimes could be seen with five or more tiers.

As there was no binding on artisans, the experiments continued unhindered. The negligence of dogmatic structures by the tribal people, assured liberal atmosphere which helped funerary architecture to flourish.

The two separate schemes, as we saw, now were amalgamated, but the result was not at all satisfactory. The unimpressive structure soon was abandoned, more on the insistence by the disappointed artisans, rather than the customers/patrons.

The thick headstone was put on the grave, having chamber underneath (Illus 20). The net result impressed no one, as there are very few specimens seen. Soon thick upper tier slab was abandoned but not abruptly. We do find such headstones on some graves of later period, when the grave was gaining height.

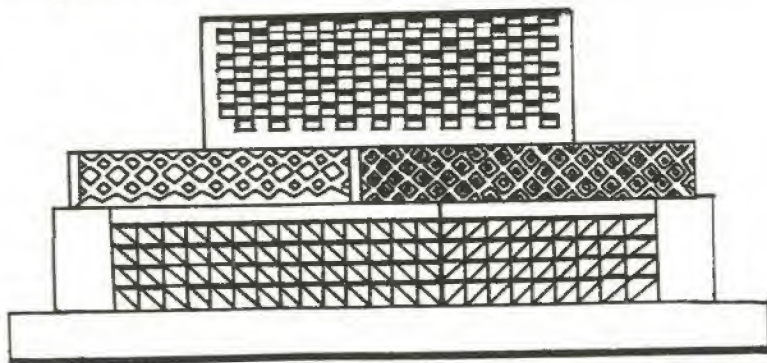


Illustration 20

The addition of chambers to the grave was not at all a new feature, for the graves in subcontinent. All earlier Sultanate period graves, do have that sarcophagus, whether it is in Delhi or in the provincial capitals. The guilds of artisans which had their roots in Ajmeer, and all the urban centres of Gujrat, Cutch and Lower Sindh, had their preferences with regard to mode, method and structure, depending upon their acclaimed achievements. Thus affecting the mini structure here; it is in this background, that we see inception of chamber, as natural expression of the folks in search of a grand funeral structure, even if we do let the sarcophagus graves of Ghaznavid period out of sight.

Earlier, one chamber grave in crude form, is a copy of the normal sarcophagus in the capital, devoid of all refined adornments, oblivious of the tomb building, but the decoration of low lying early graves is persistently present. Here, other experimental adorations are also incorporated, in some cases, for example, the side cut design similar to that of headstone and the split level in second tier (Illus 21).

The early crude graves had minimum decoration. With passage of time, new decorative elements were not only introduced, but these spread overall tiers, including the broader sides of the chamber. The artisans accepted the challenge, thrown by wide space and used it to great advantage.



Illustration 21

The structure, as we have already seen, is made of various sizes of stone slabs, cut and dressed and carved according to their chosen/assigned places. As each one of steps comprises more pieces of stone, except the headstone, all these are given joint marks as to be used subsequently for joining together. Thus, these are very accurately dressed to fit and fill space properly (Illus 25).



Illustration 22

These are large in length, later, we find these to be more balance (Illus 22). The headstone did also shed its broadness and was slightly thick.

The normal composition of crude graves is the plinth made of dressed stone (Illus 23), over which the slabs are vertically placed to form the chamber; above it, three steps are made, the top one is called headstone (Illus 24). These three steps are same in look and construction, as the steps of earlier low lying grave. It is this structure, under which we find the renowned Maliks of Kalmatis buried. Malik Ibrahim and Malik Ismael are three generations apart

from each other. There had been some deviations from the normal three stepped plus chamber graves. In these cases, the steps were increased, for instance, a chamber and four tiered grave is also a usual sight.

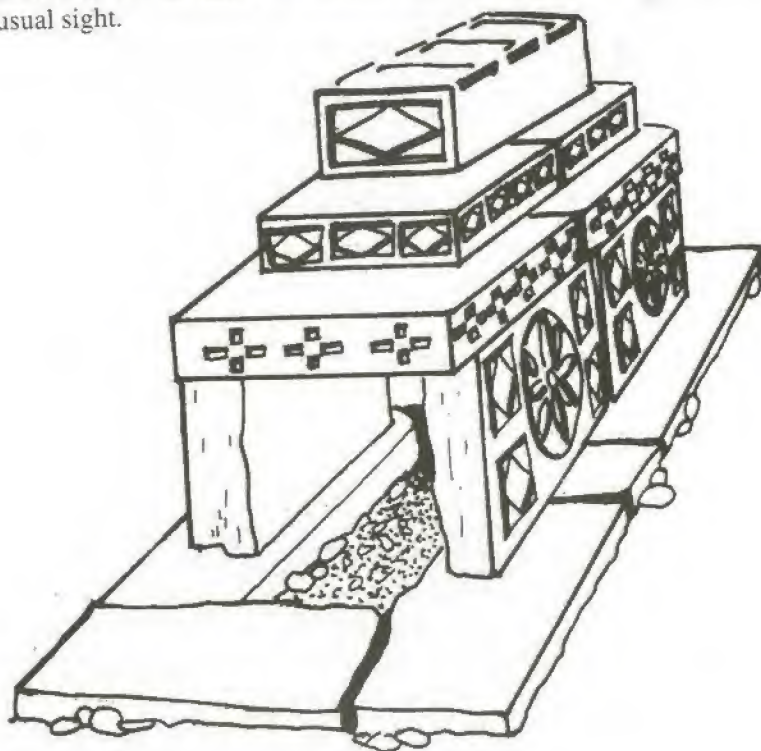


Illustration 23

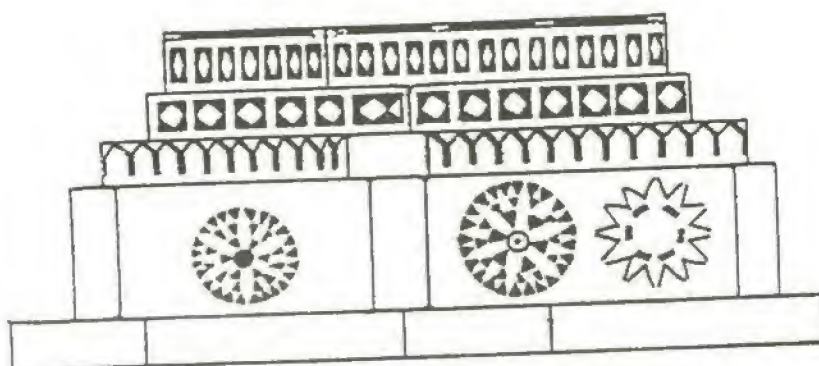
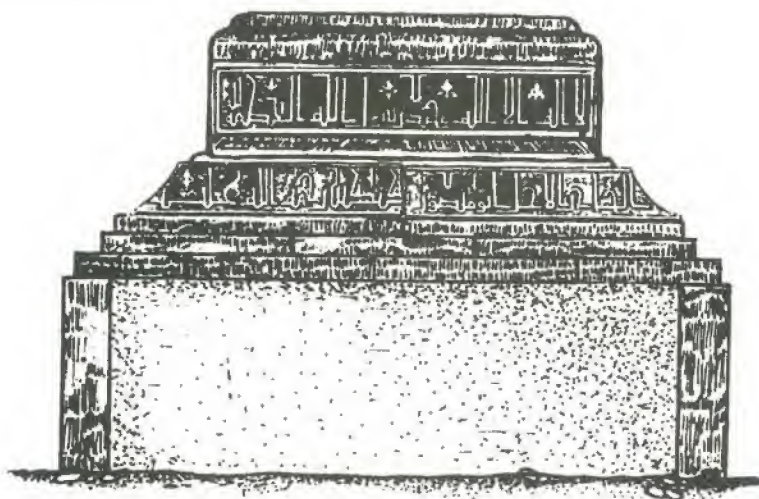


Illustration 24

Simultaneous to these structures, another variety not only existed, but was also influenced by developments taking place in these, it kept on evolving. This structure has its roots in neighbourhood, and also could be identified with personalities having strong connections in Central Asia. The grave of Subuktagin comprises plinth with sarcophagus, over which one cut stone vertical slab is placed. This headstone has inscription on lower border.⁵ Same structures are found in abundance in the area of our study (Illus 27). Here, we find headstone also has a few varieties, slightly differing from each other (Illus 28).



The grave of Subuktagin in Ghazni

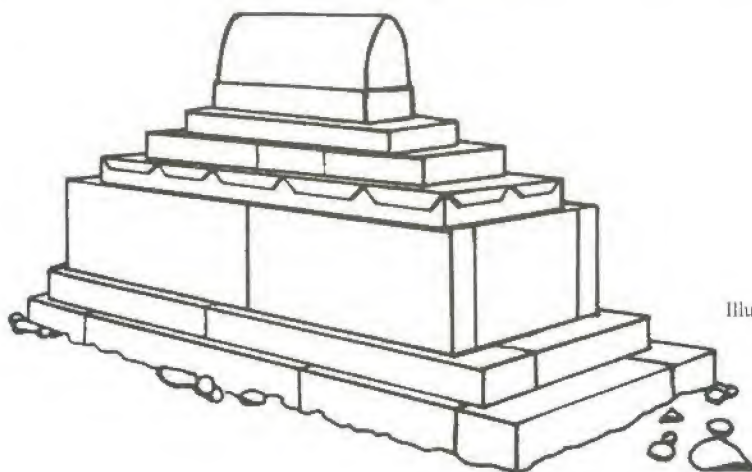


Illustration 28 B

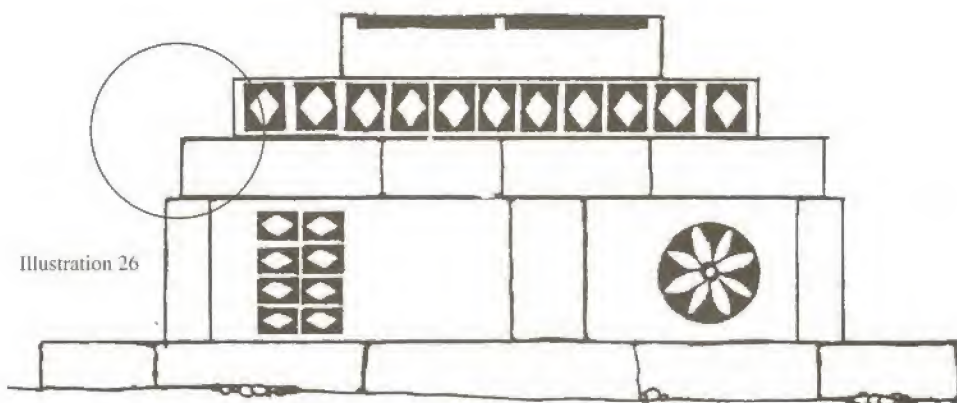


Illustration 26

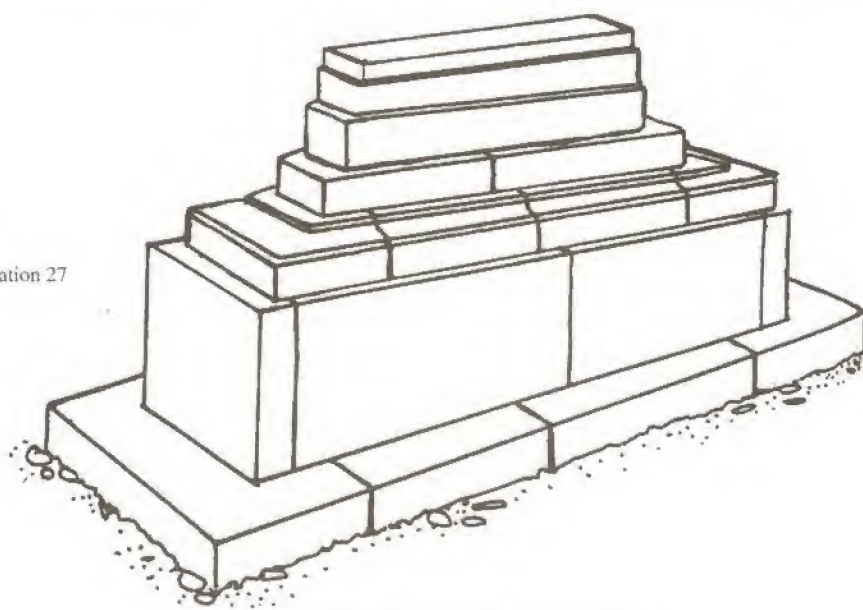


Illustration 27

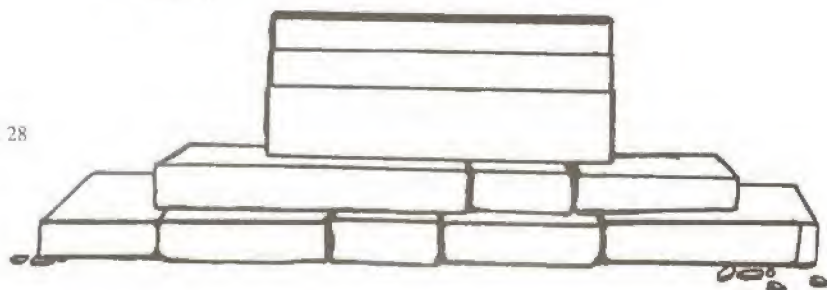


Illustration 28

The features can be seen by closely observing any grave of the late crude period where the chamber slabs join together and a joint mark is visible. Note also the second step, where the decorative design is half cut on one and half on the other stone so meticulously to form a complete whole. This is specially required as there is no tradition of using mortar of any kind in construction. The interesting feature of assembling of these structures is that the upper tier, which is shorter in length and breadth from lower one, however, takes care to overlap the narrow side slabs, for giving strength to the joint. This feature could be observed universally (Illus 26).

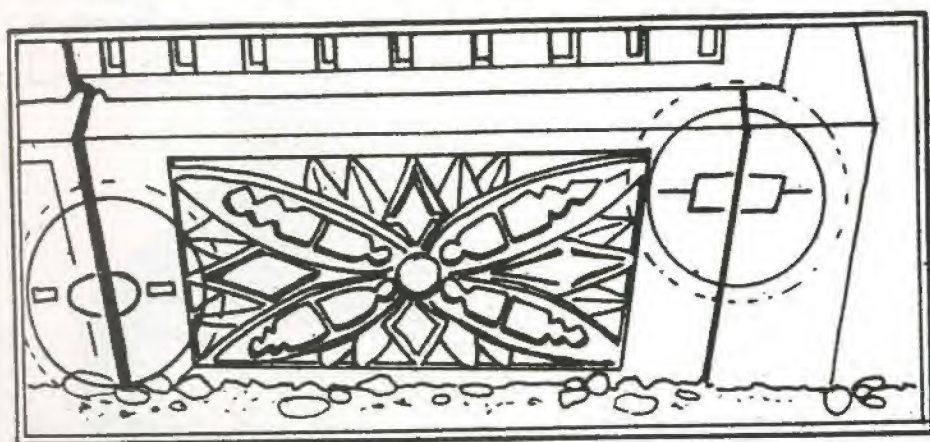
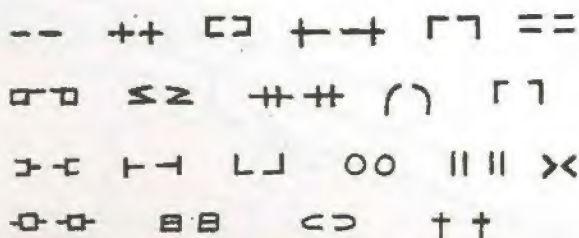
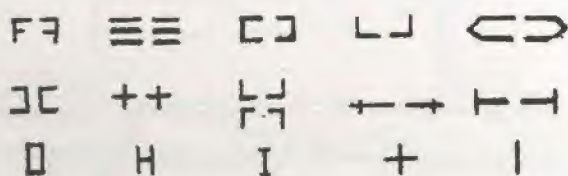


Illustration 25



Some joint marks on crude and cut-arch graves.



Some joints/assembly marks on formative and classical grave.

Standard, three tiered graves, later went on receiving more steps, in quest of grandeur. Likewise, the chamber graves, too, received additional stages. Whether it is grave with chamber or without it, this development was simultaneous.

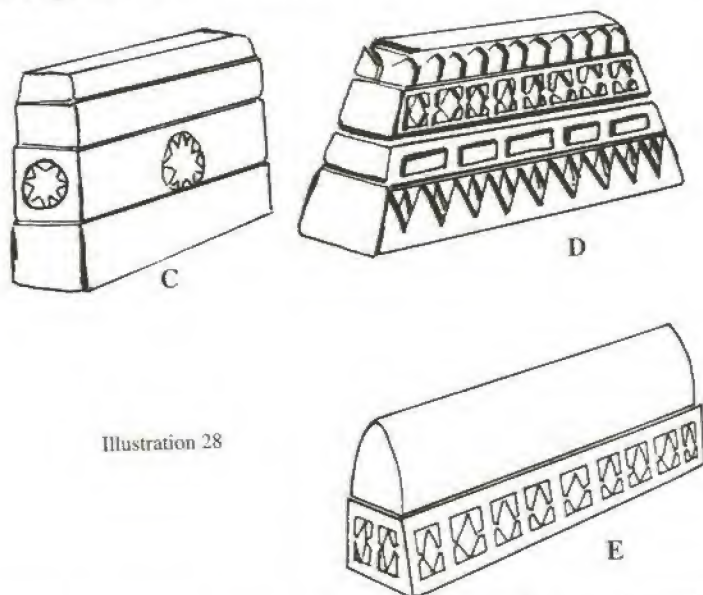


Illustration 28

It seems to suggest matter of preferences and not of simple evolution. Quest of prominence saw its expression, in addition of platform, in the place of plinth, in some cases and in other cases the chambers went tall.

The slabs of chamber, were cut higher, thus graves grew taller (Illus 29). There are very few such structures of this category, suggesting its experimental nature. Apart from it being isolated specimen, the other thing which requires pondering is the division made lengthwise in chamber slab by line mark. This thin single line, divides the slab exactly at the place where normal chamber otherwise, would have added.

Was it a simple measure or something else? It requires further prob. This position is on the narrower sides, that is southern end, on wider sides, the double chamber slabs comprise two portions of normal size, and are put one upon the other to cater extra height. This structure is a very rare sight, however, the construction methodology of three specimens, in one graveyard show development; in one case, the narrower slab is sandwiched, in other, the corners are alternating and the third overlaps the ends (Illus 36).

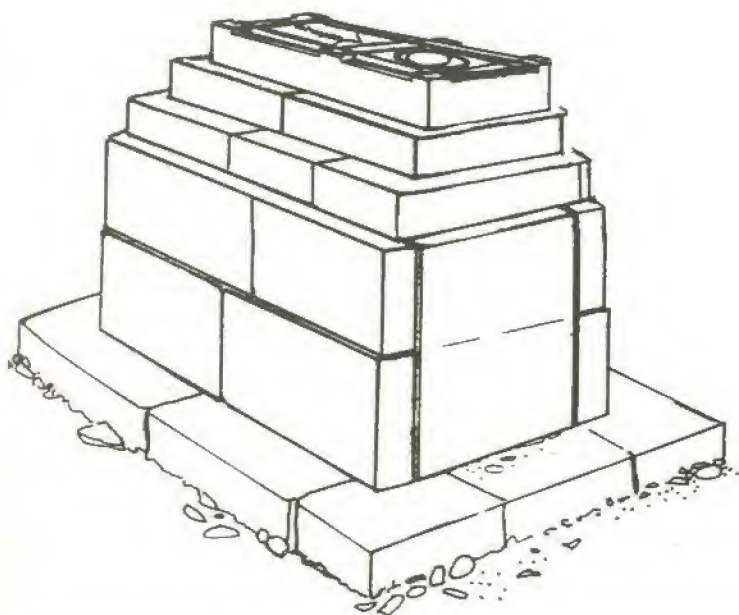


Illustration 29

The awkward look of the structure might have prompted artisans, immediately to go to new grounds for experiments. As the next structure is more balanced, though full of potentials and stayed for longer duration, on account of universal acceptance.

This new development was an imaginative alteration of the double sized chamber grave, with an intervention step. The lower chamber was in fact, not a chamber but a pedestal, carrying whole structure. This interesting change rendered great beauty and balance, to the grave that it immediately won universal acclaim. From here onwards, there is complete breakup, from all known structures, throughout subcontinent and Persia, having not even a chance resemblance to these graves except some structures in Turkey, belonging to a later period.

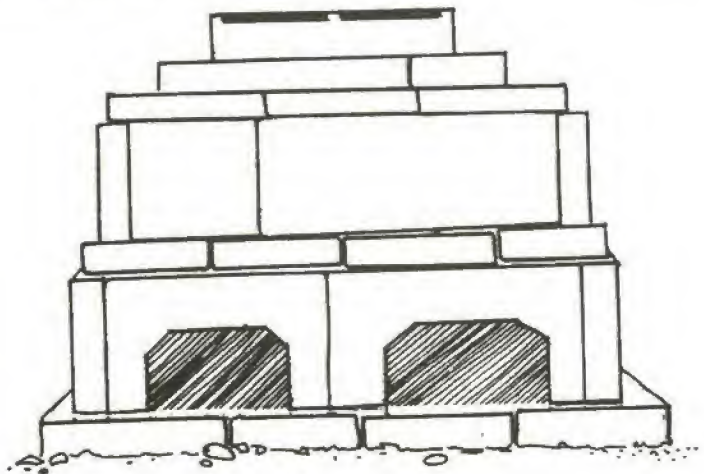
It is not out of tradition to mark the graves with stones beginning with pebbles placing to boulder pitching. The durability and other characters were appreciated and stone was employed extensively, in more than one fashions. In Indian subcontinent, there are so many graves, made of cut and dressed slabs of sandstone. As we already have discussed, the low lying graves made with lateral slabs, being initial specimen, are scattered all along, the eastern bordering areas of the region under study and also the western lands. A step further the graves with sarcophagus are also found in these areas. The grave

of Mehmmod Ghazni is in true Indian fashion,⁶ and all Sultanate graves do also confirm to it. But there is no known structure, throughout all adjacent countries, which may resemble to the structure, which has emerged at this juncture. The double chamber graves with very peculiar characteristics are without doubt a unique example, which could only be assigned a separate slot of its own. As it confirms to none other funeral structure, nor is outcome of any sectarian practice.

The inception of another chamber, either in replacement of the awkward double-sized chamber, which had its upward thrust, or in order to gain more height, resulted in a very unique structure.

The lower chamber had its slabs cut at the mid, thus, rendering a look, as if the whole structure stands over pedestals (illus 30). There were many attempts to cut various designs in the slab, but one thing persisted, it was the continuation of pedestals (Illus 31). It is very curious fact that the people, who cared so much about the beauty and balance, do at times, seemed to have compromised it, due continuous structural practices. The chamber, which comprised two halves of unequal size on longer side, received unequal cut arches or rectangles. And quite interestingly, it was tolerated for pretty long times. Until another experiment was in acted, which in turn, provided not a very convincing solution (Illus 32). Out of these two wider halves, it was further divided into two equal cut arches and not one, as per previous practice. New arrangement was appreciated on account of innovation in design and a very large number of such graves could be seen in the earlier period graveyards, including *Chaukhandi* and *the Baloch Tombs* at Malir (Illus 33).

Illustration 30



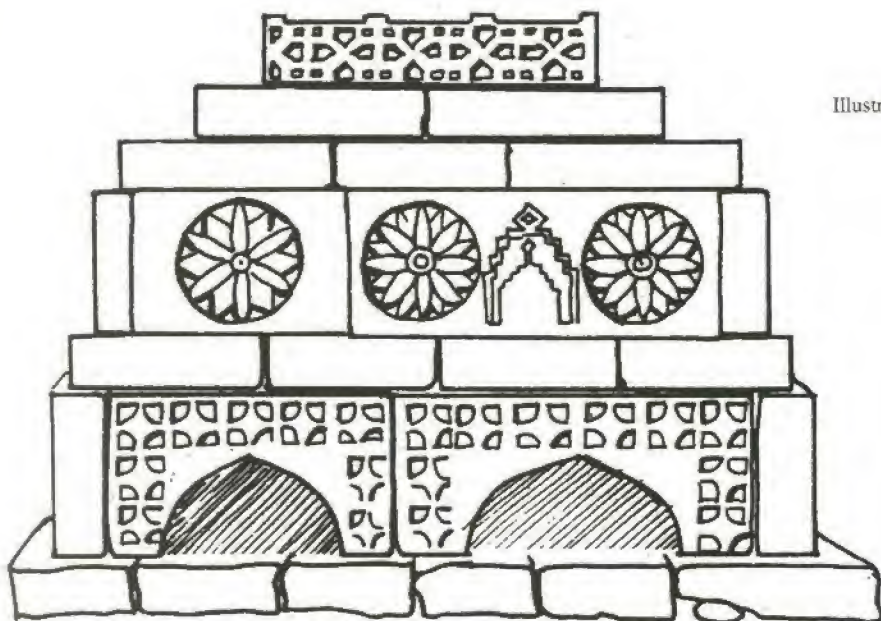


Illustration 31

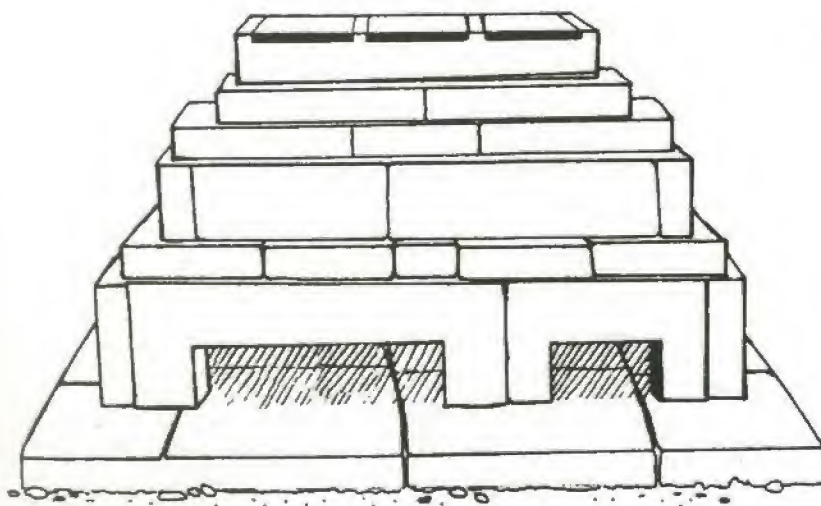
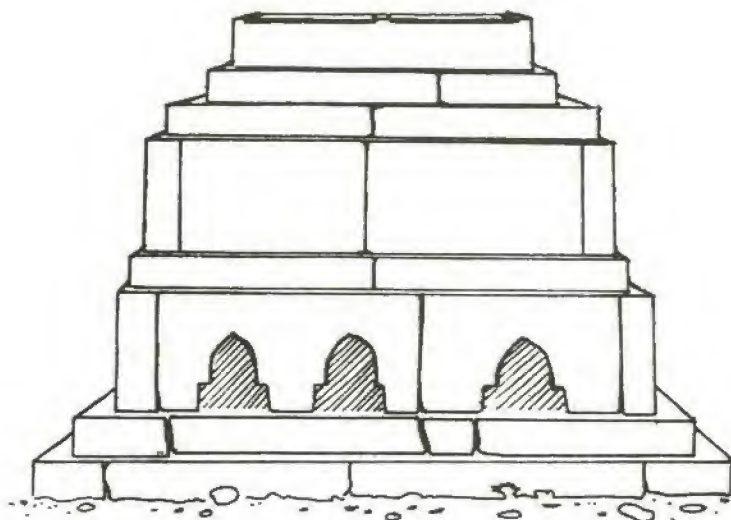


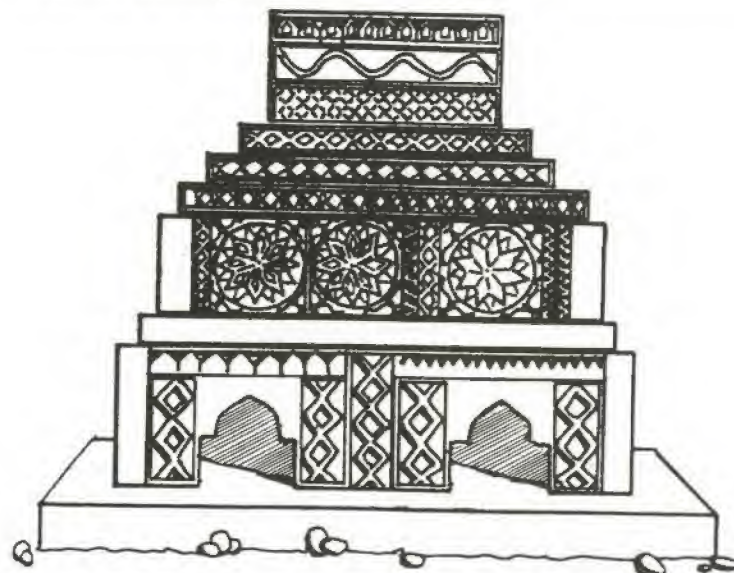
Illustration 32

Illustration 33



This was not the only solution, found out to overcome the awkwardness of unequal halves. Direct arrangements were also done to bring in the equal sized slabs for the lower chamber. Thus balance was achieved (Illus 34), with two cut arches/rectangles. Besides these two, another measure was also taken by ever eager artisans, to achieve balance along with scoring innovative move. The two equal sized slabs of the lower chamber were cut in such a way to form three equal-sized arches (Illus 35). The ornamentation, too, cut at the midpoint, as discussed earlier.

Illustration 34



It is easier to presume this structure an earlier innovation, than the cut arch lower chamber graves. But due to multiple reasons, we label it as later date experiment. These graves, which were meant to leave an impact of delicacy, are really fragile structures, ready to crumble on slight shock, as these separate pedestals are not in tune with these load bearing structures. One such grave, in *Bala* graveyard, is a specimen of beauty in its times, so is the one at *Omar Jowan* (Illus 36).

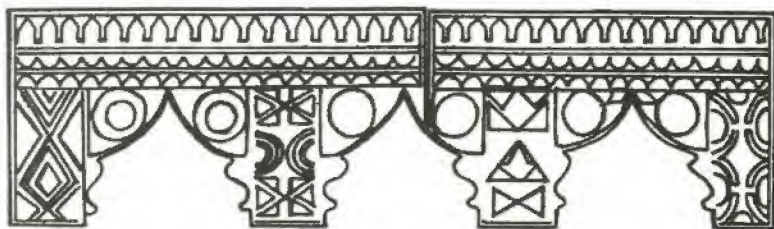


Illustration 35

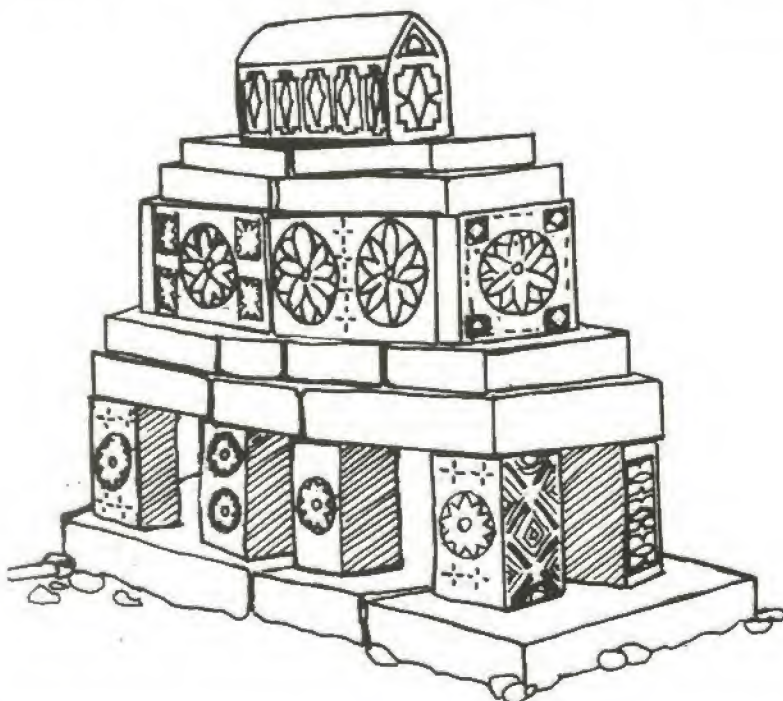


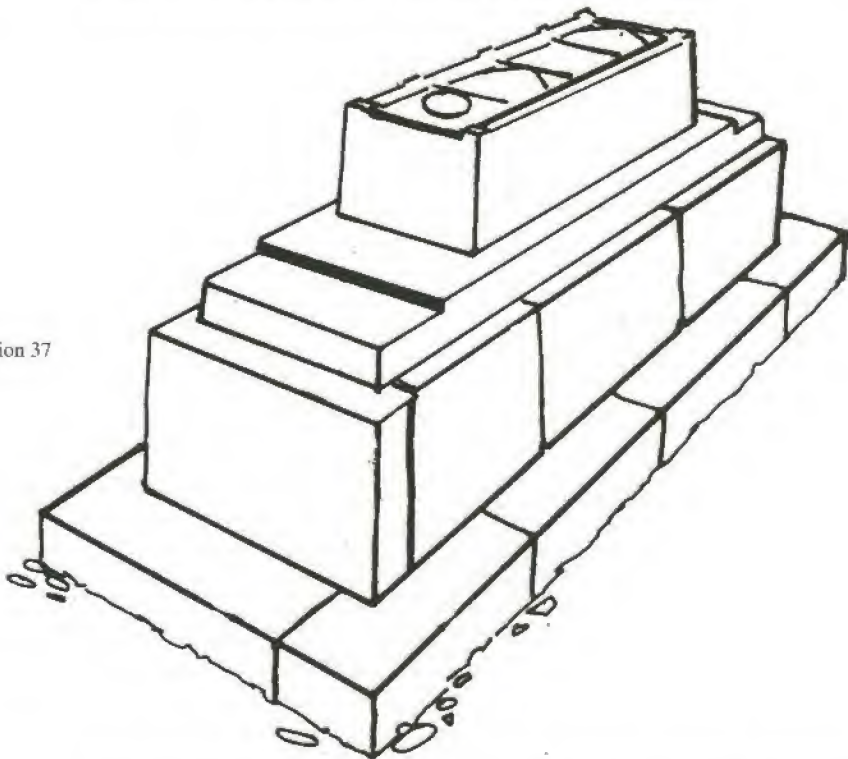
Illustration 36

These isolated examples, though can't allow us to assign these a place among the regular was applied with special care, with which the structure is divided in balance. The structure is an indication of the confidence gained, on account of having clear perception of the

objectives to be achieved. The society, which had very little commercial or industrial activity to indulge in, depending largely on herds rearing and rain cultivation, had very little demand on the time of male population. It left them with ample leisure to appreciate the activities of artisans fully. The artisan was well aware of this fact and in turn went ahead with innovation, ready to undertake experiments, whenever he considered it a requirement. He prolonged his stay on one commission to work innovations. The folks appreciated this length of stay and cherished to talk about it, this tradition has come down to the present day.

There are two structures, in two different centuries, which indicate extensive nature of experimentation. These structures have separate stone pieces employed as pedestals instead of wide slabs.

Illustration 37



The inception of equal-sized slabs, in lower chamber, brought balance in structure and decoration. They also caused opening of the way for four arches, to be cut on each wide side. Along with it, the grave experienced other changes, brought on by the evolution of headstone.

The headstone, as we called the upper stone slab of low lying grave because of the decorative treatment it normally gets, started changing shape. It developed simultaneously on low lying as well as the crude graves. The double chamber cut arch graves too were not exception. The tradition of putting upper slab vertically, over two lower tiers and one chamber grave, was already present in tenth century AD, as discussed earlier. Its hibernation, however, couldn't be taken as diminishing of that trend as its revival aptly suggests.

The headstone which previously was a thin slab (about 15cm thick) went on gaining mass. It grew and grew, but as it grew in height, it started losing its breath (Illustrations 37-39). May we assign any other reason to it, or simply consider it to be a normal stylistic development.

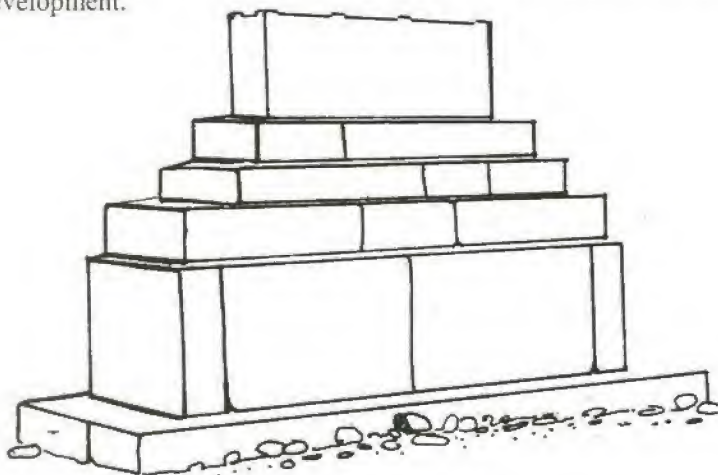


Illustration 38

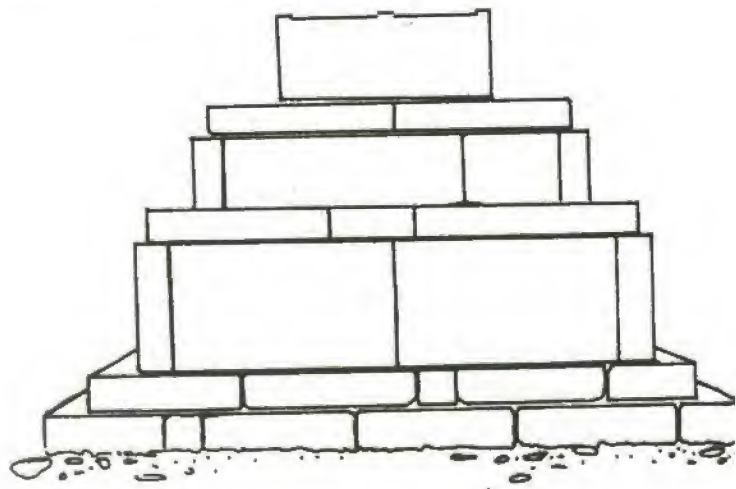


Illustration 39

The closer observation of the headstones from its earlier place, when its breadth was more than double of its width, to the gradual decrease in the breadth and the rational increase of width, there is hardly any difference in the sequence of decoration employed. Secondly, there is no special mark or emphasis rendered on any of the headstones in its various developmental phases to suggest anything out of ordinary.

The upsurge of headstone and its achieving final vertical position may be partially called as natural temptation for prominence.

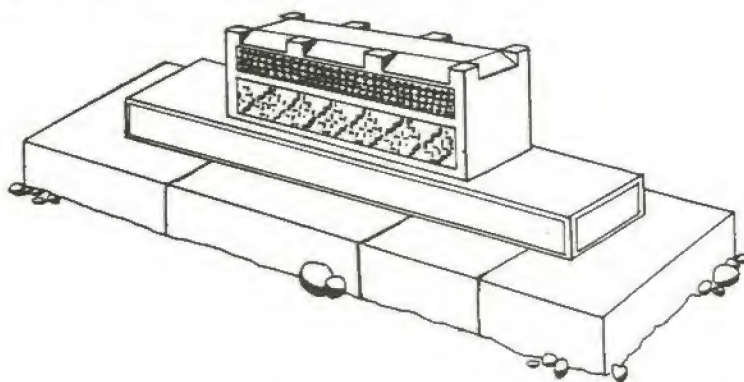


Illustration 40

The headstone with its earlier decorative sidelines and grips continue to develop, even though the decorative scheme gradually got enlarged, but the basic components persisted (illustrations 40-31). The space, now available to it, it did shed off its additional elements and persisted with the circle, on a northern end (illustration 42). Here it could be seen that the headstone, though carries all its basic characteristics, but seems ready for the structural development, which followed. Upper face of the headstone, with only a circle to show, on its northern-most quarter, brought in some changes in decorative application on border side.

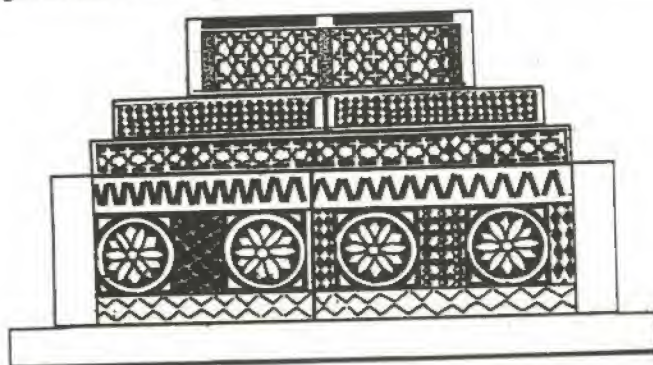
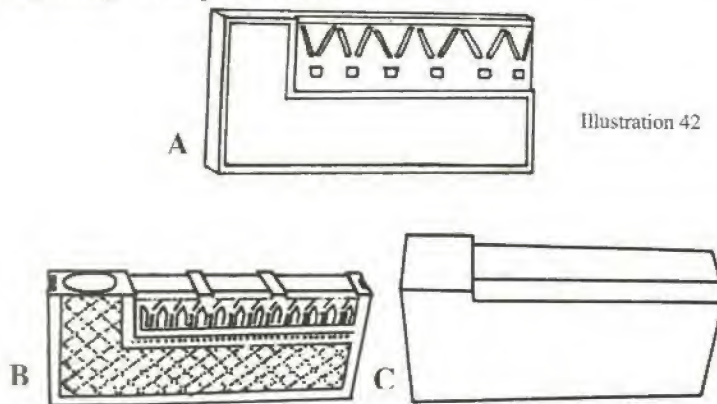


Illustration 41

It was here that seeds were presumably sown, for inception of very novel feature, in stone carved graves: the turban. Though placing turban on graves of male members is not unique and this being practiced throughout Pakistan, wherein the majority of *Pirs*, *Makhdooms*, *Saints* and *Auliyas*, one comes across a turban placed on the northern/head end of the grave. This practice has not been quite satisfactorily explained by the *Sajadah Nasheens*, keepers or descendants of the persons interned, no date is assigned to the beginning of this practice either



Similar practice was observed among whirling *Dervishes of Kuniya*, follower of the famous Maulana of Rum. It is in Turkey that we find special concern of portraying headgear on tombstones.⁸ That society had distinguished headgears for every profession, and this hierarchic vision was projected into death itself and their services petrified in the cemeteries.⁹ But that portrayal is different from the turban depiction here; as we will see later. The heavy fulsome cloth turban of medieval Turkey is placed on sarcophagus of Maulana Rum, whereas the depiction of headgear on the slab of the mere tombstone, placed on head side is different in character and tradition. Here the headgear seems to be an organic part of the grave structure itself.

In area of present study, we find that the practice of placing turban over graves of prominent Auliyas/saints have no consistency, for example it is seen over the graves of almost every Pir, belonging to different traditions, sects, conformists and non-conformists alike. Graves of saints of various practices, without exception, could be seen adorned with a turban. It is also a strange but telling fact that the stone carved graves of Talpurs elders are without turbans; whereas, their later descendants, who were formerly crowned *Amirs* of Sindh, have cloth turbans placed over their graves.

As far as the depiction of turbans in stone is concerned, it is something formal and very specific. One thing which makes it special is its use in limited time spans. Second, is its use by the concerned tribe only. Third, is its use in particular geographic limits, which are not very wide. Thus, it will be unwise to draw any conclusions, on the basis of chance similarities of some idea in use, in an area placed too far in time and space. However, it is important to look for resemblances, no matter how small, and put these on record for possible future work.

For present, we will refer to the available evidence, in our area of study, showing possible independent growth of turbans, prompted out of decorative experimentations. The presumption of indigenous development is strengthened on account of the testimony presented by the grave of Jam Radho Jokhio. The grave is double chamber, with cut arches on lower chambers. It has very conventional headstone, with rod facing sky. Here, the circle on the northern quarters is raised for one inch, receiving special attention. This special emphasis on the circle is indicator, not to be taken lightly. It suggests, on the one hand, that it was circle which for ornamental reasons was raised for one inch, above the surface, and, on the other hand, there, obviously, was no other reason, or thought of bringing in another novel feature, at that time (illustration 44). It could not be considered as turbans or any account.

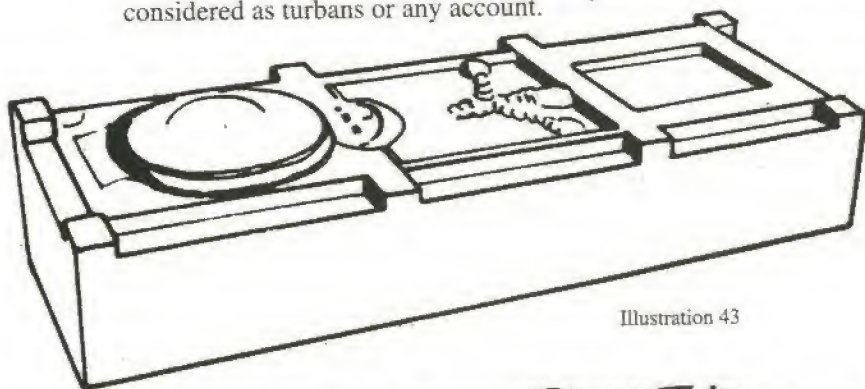


Illustration 43

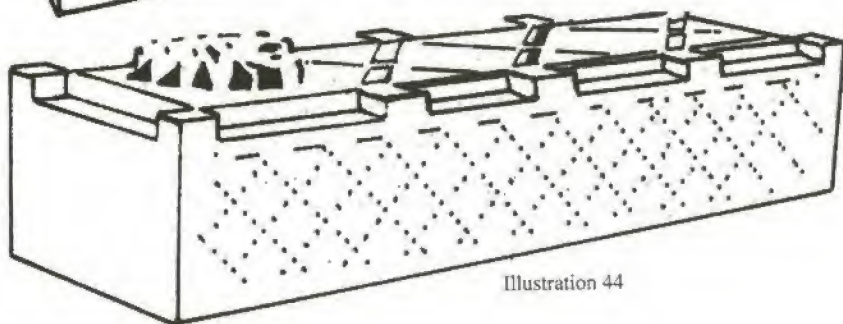


Illustration 44

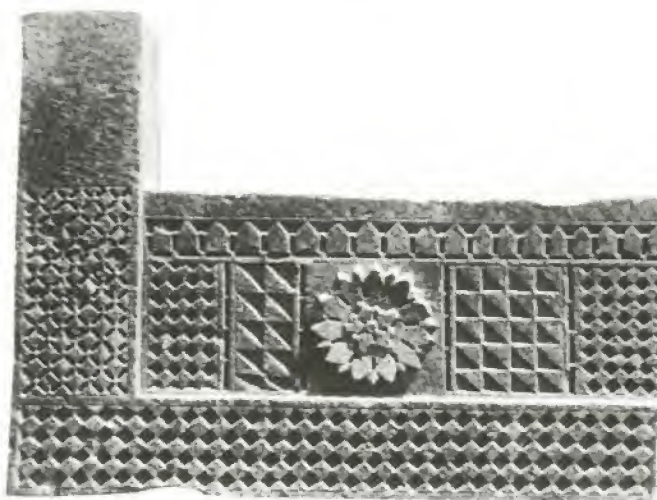


Illustration 44 **A**



Illustration 44 **B**

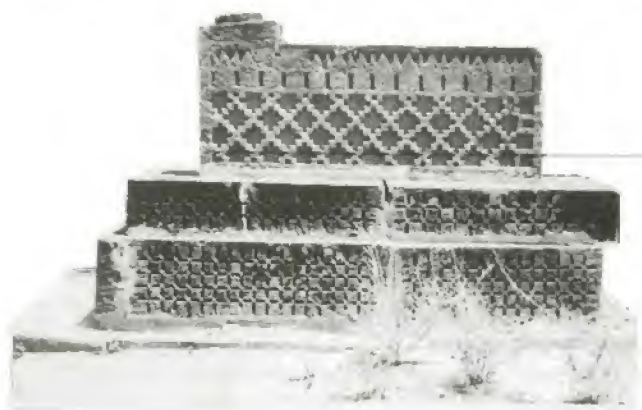


Illustration 44 **C**

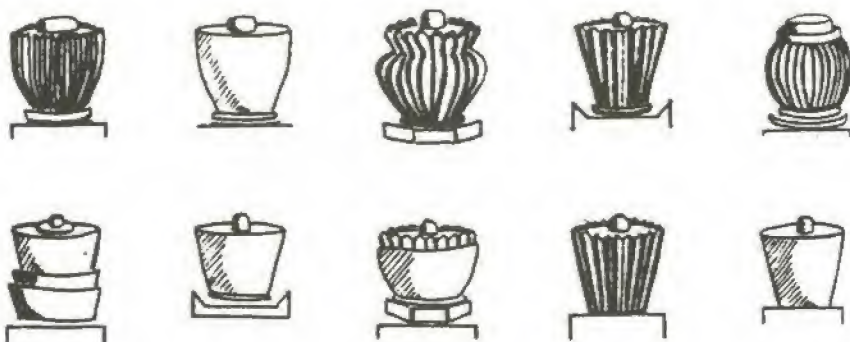


Illustration 44 **D**

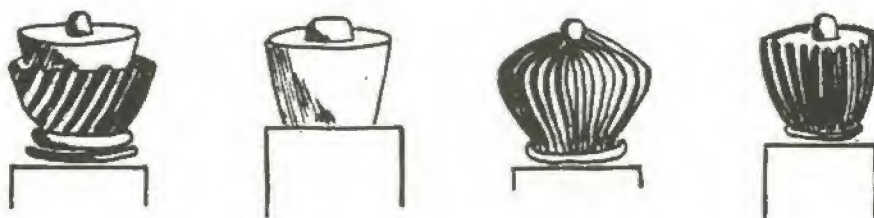


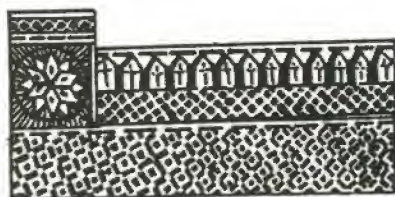
Illustration 44 **E**

Another grave, at the distance of 30 yards from this, helps us further in understanding the evolution. Here, the circle is raised further one inch, which makes total rise to about 5cms above the surface. At this height, it is neither taken as plain circle, nor is it to be considered turbans.

Rather it will be assumed quite rightly to be an evolution and design, leading to a very fateful change destined to stay.

The vertical slab now, has some slightly changed decoration on headstone on broader sides, and the upper surface scheme limited only to the ribs and omnipresent circle on northern end. Afterwards, the northern ends was raised from the rest, and continued to rise. With this rise, the upper surface decoration vanished. At this place, the ribs gave way to some slight taper, at others simply nothing. The conditions were ripe now for the birth of that small pillarete style of turban on the graves. Once it got its way, the artisan tried to give more designs to it. Many styles could be found on the one chamber graves, and also on the double chamber (cut arch) graves (Illus 44).

It is one of the strange happenings that the circle, which otherwise adored the upper surface of headstone, was reflected on the northern, upper corner of the broader side of the headstone. This could be seen on earlier pieces (Illus 45).



This fact must not be overlooked that the broad topped "headstone", did also continue to adore other graves side by side new evolving (vertical), headstone, and the graves under these were also undergoing significant structure development.

Illustration 45

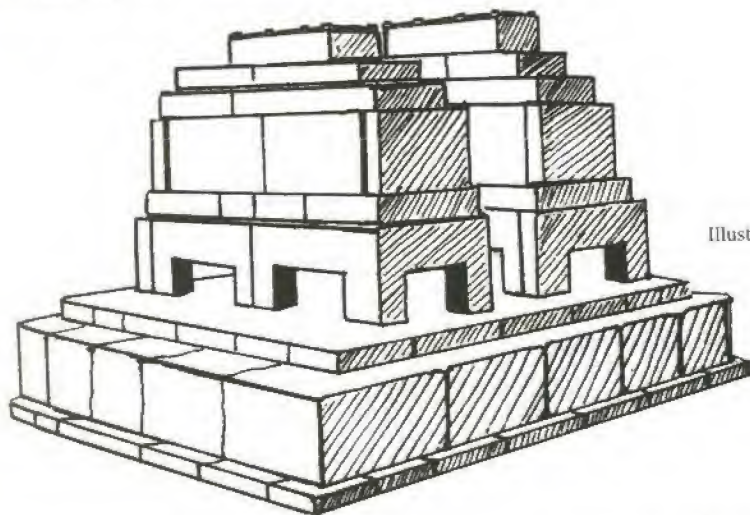


Illustration 46

For instance, the broad-topped headstone continued adoring adamantly the grave of one chamber and also graves which had platforms underneath (illus 46). The headstone went higher but its gain in height was not uniform in evolution various guilds did experiment at their own, the headstone while rising had various stages in thickness once it became conventional to have various divisions in height, it acquired another step underneath as the base (Illus 47).

Variety of decorations was applied, on the broader sides of headstone. Initially, it was done on the vertical division bases in continuation of the multilevel legacy but then the schemes changed. The decorative variety went to considerable lengths, more enterprising artisans brought in structural variations as far as the headstone is considered. Some early sixteenth century specimens are of great importance. The headstone is separated from the rest of the structure, with having very narrow base, which is completely

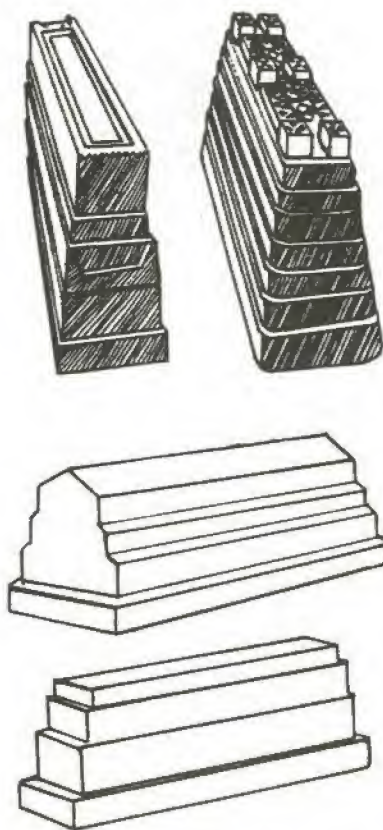


Illustration 47

The cut arches of lower chamber, being its prime beauty, were major hindrance in its way to get more innovative treatment. This restricted the area to work on, and remaining space only allowed already defined quarters.

The base or plinth, as we call it, of cut arch graves is similar to those of early low lying graves and crude ones. These are constructed in four common ways (Illus 48).

overshadowed by a highly jutting out decorative lower level of an ornately decorated piece (picture E). Other examples are less extravagant, but more beautiful and balanced (Picture C). Other varieties, too, are good pieces of workmanship, but it seems, those were less popular, thus were abandon much earlier (Picture D). Much of this experimentation went on over the one chamber grave, it simultaneously got considerable attention as far as the decorative schemes are concerned. This structure was the carrier of all such developments which went further and culminated into the grand funeral structure. This magnificent structure is the mature grave, unique among its class in Asia. It is the reason we dub the one chamber grave with vertical headstone as *semi-classical* grave.

Even though the double chamber grave did also get along and received much of new decorative schemes and was affected by the structural development, but it was simply following, what was happening to *semi-classical* grave.

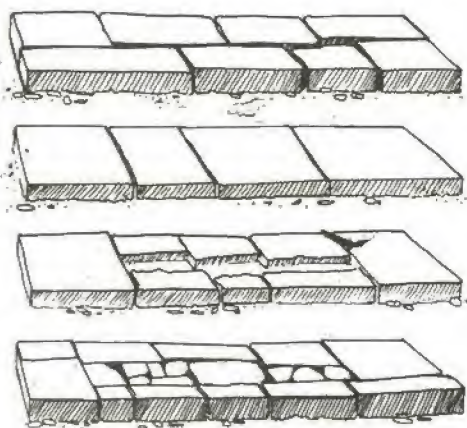


Illustration 48

Here, the care is taken to keep outer lines smooth and properly defined, and the inner arrangement is of convenience, as it is somewhat hidden from view.

It is a normal practice to have one or two tiers underneath the lower chamber. As these steps are not decorated, they are of simple construction and form the connection between the ground and structure, we term these as plinth. There is no distinction as far as the structure is concerned, to have one or two such lower steps/plinth.

Twin lower steps are normally there to render stability to the taller structure, that is why, majority of double chamber cut arch graves sit over such plinth. One chamber (crude), or *semi-classical* graves normally have one tiered plinth and this fact supports our assumption.

The cut arch lower chamber was greatly popular, as seen earlier, its popularity laid sponsors, with weak financial position, to ask for this beauty to be incorporated in one chamber graves too. There are a few specimens, where artisan has expressed cut arch in the only chamber. Such structure, looked odd and seem to have appealed to on one, thus, they were practiced no more (Illus 49).

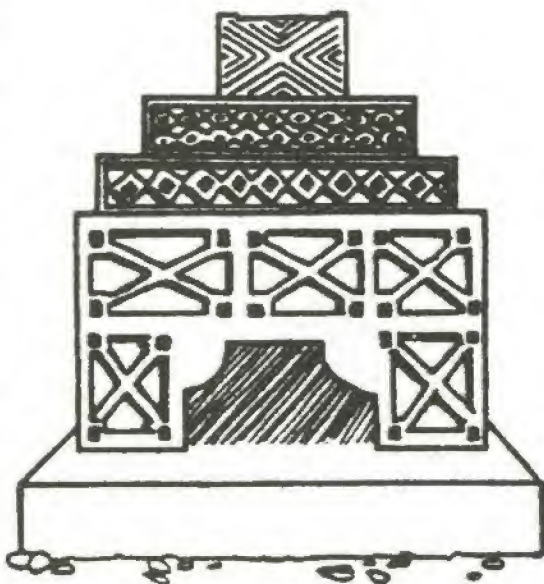


Illustration 49

The lower chamber was made with six slabs of equal height. Two on each broader sides and one on the narrower sides. Initial specimens have one arch shape cut-out from each slab. Thus, it makes six arches all around the chamber. There are, however, in later structure, two arch cut outs in each slab on broad side, that makes eight arches on both broader sides. In a few cases, even the narrower side, that is northern and southern end slab, which got two arch cuts in each slab.

There are certain exceptions to these as well, when each broader side comprised three arches. In such cases, the broader side slabs got unequal share of arches, this slab close to northern end received two arches while the other had one. Thus, three arches each, were cut both broad sides. But in very few exceptions, the artisan executed one and a half arch in each slab, on the broader side (refer to illustration 35).

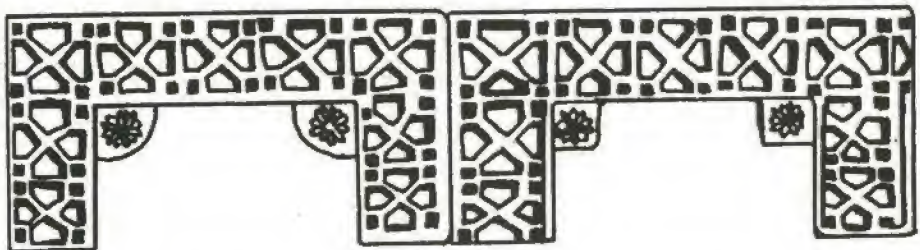
It brought balance to the lower chamber. This practice, however, is restricted to very a few specimens in *Gadani*. The overall appearance of all such specimen suggests that these were worked by the same guild on one of the graveyard, which is somewhat improved version from that of *Bala*.

The initial cut arches seem to be arrived at from the pedestals, which were used to raise the structure higher. Fortunately, we have couple of such graves, though belonging to later age, imply indicated that genre to have been there earlier than the cut arch graves. And it holds the key for the puzzle of cut lower chamber in the early grand structure. The earlier of the two structures, had eight independent pedestals. The decoration on these and their sizes, all indicate these to be thoughtful execution (Refer to illus 36)

The idea, it seems had appealed the folks as the extra height rendering magnificent was achieved with little extra efforts but we assume that it was due to know stable look of the pedestals, that necessitated new experiment.

Each vertical slab of the chamber was cut from center so as to form two pedestals, one each at the side. As we have already seen that six slabs were assembled vertically to form a chamber, thus, six cuts were there in the lower chamber (Refer to illus 32 and 34). This structure is very solid looking and it enjoyed confidence of the folks immensely, as such structures are scattered widely and in abundance.

Soon the rectangular cut from each slab got more innovative designs. The right angles were done away and the slant was instead marked (Refer to Illus 30). The artisan couldn't be restricted to one option, once he is convinced of a need to innovate. Thus we see more changes in the cut designs. These designs were experimented at one and the same time, as indicated in the same structure (Illus 50).



Design 1

Design 2

Illustration 50

Apart from these, there was hardly any other design, which was used for cutting pedestals at that particular period, though this period seems to have lasted pretty long.

An important offshoot of design II led to a decorative cut, which paved way of ogee to come and settle there for years altogether. This was the narrowing of the space in between pedestals, as the artisan re-arranged space to accommodate to more pedals. However, a few variations in design, do occur, the four-centered arch is worked (Refer to Illus 31), and same with broad shoulders (Refer to Illus 34).

The importance given to stability is more obvious in one specimen from Bala, where the arches are shown but not cut. Here the actual position of arches being decorative is instantly clear. The cut is rectilinear, but it has two arches carved over it, similarly, three arches are carved over other such cut on second slab.

A further design proudly stands and shows the liberal attitude of the artisan in that society. Here, the slab has received the cut of arch, over it, in continuation and part of the same design a diamond is placed, perforated at the centre (Illus 51).

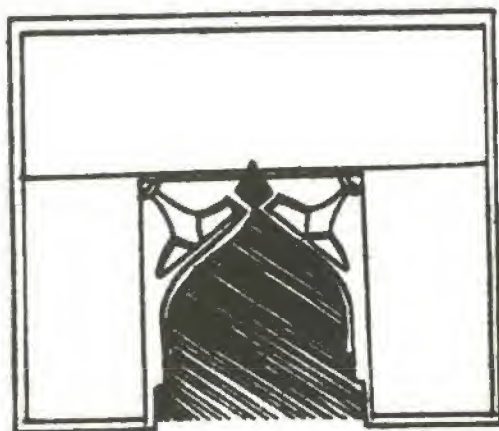


Illustration 51

The abundance of six cut lower chamber graves may not be taken as spreading over a longer period. As clearly suggested by restricted decorative application, one can be sure of this practice to be bracketed in smaller span of time, nevertheless very wide spread geographically.

When one looks at the lower division of the structure, one finds very few decorative motifs executed, in total, some five designs are there. This too, points towards the validity of the observation regarding this phase to be short lived.

In between the pedestals and the sarcophagus (the upper chamber), there is an intermediate step. The fascia comprising of flat slabs, horizontally covering the rectangular cabin formed by the pedestal slabs is invariably 15/16 cm and it covers the whole breadth. There are two or three, sometimes more covering the length. In almost all cases, the fascia has no decorations, at that period. However, very few exceptions have been observed.

The upper chamber or sarcophagus, at this time juncture, receives basic decoration, comprising encircled bold and big lotuses. The artisan, sometimes try to place vertical bands in between the big

The evolution of decoration on the broad-faced headstone, while the headstone went narrower and higher, caused loss of decorative motifs and loss in size of northern end circle.¹⁰

The evolution in decoration led to structural change. The raised knob like thing rose further to acquire definite shapes as seen earlier, the pillerate like execution acquired turban like shapes as well as meaning which further cut like crowns in classical age.

The various types of pillerates could be seen¹¹. We will also refer to these as and when required to be studied viz a viz structurally.

Various decorative schemes were practiced over the structure, producing some beautiful specimens, which were in turn copied and improved further, on account of general acceptance.

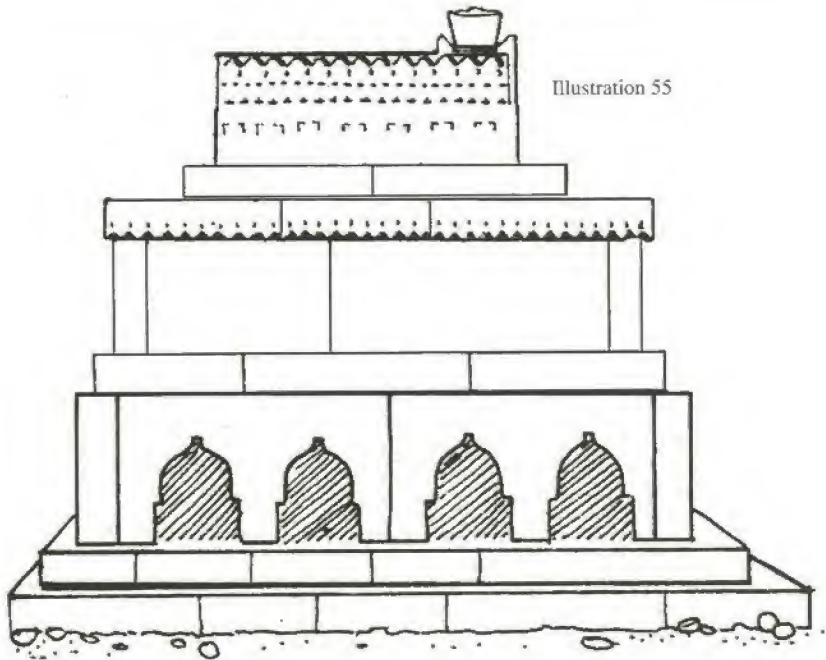


Illustration 55

The decoration went rich, motifs became compact and every available inch received the measured chisel stroke of competent craftsmen. At this point, even the edges of narrow sides of covering slabs received the decoration. Universal adornment asked for more space, where the imaginative master craftsman can trace his vision to reality.

In such circumstances, the cut pedestals were great hindrance. Available area was smaller and the shape of the cut, too, was

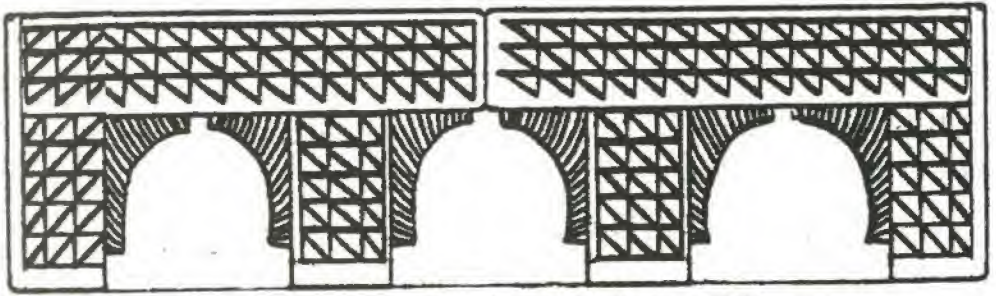


Illustration 53

Once, four cuts on a side were brought in, the standardisation of the cut design was unshared. It seems, as it was done by issuance of some notification of authority in modern day world. Negligible variations, in continuation of old cut designs, however, could be observed.

The ogish arch type cut, however, has decorative varieties, adorning numberless structures throughout. Once the standardisation of structure occurs, the artisan diverts attention to decorative variations. The band course immediately above the sarcophagus received taenia sort of raised lance fret, jutting above the band surface and protruding out of the line.

This was immediately welcomed, as it broke the outline of uniformly diminishing structure for a very brief space (Illus 55). The headstone once went vertical; it acquired the thimble-like rise

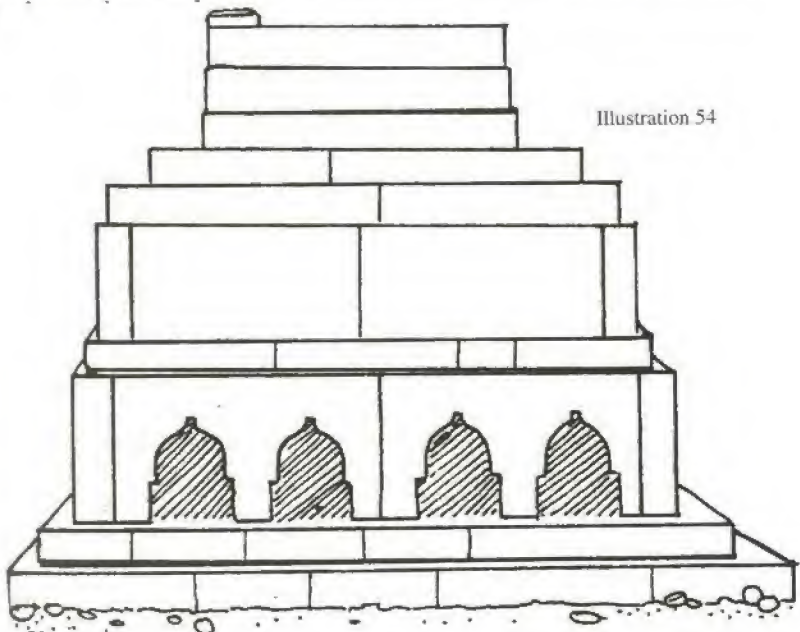
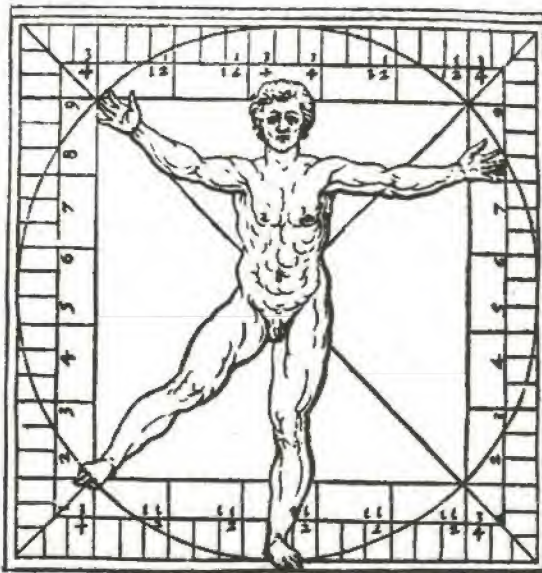


Illustration 54

"Architecture is a science and that each part of building, inside as well outside, has to be integrated into one and the same system of mathematical ratios," is what the Renaissance architects believed. And it, too, was believed that the ratios were to comply with conceptions of higher order and that a building should mirror the proportion of the human body, as man is image of God and the proportions of his body are produced by divine will, so the proportions in architecture have to embrace and express the cosmic order. Michelangelo writes in a letter of 1560 AD, to Cardinal Rodolfo Pio Da Carpi: "There is no question but that architectural members reflect the members of man and that those who do not know the human body cannot be good architects".¹²

Illustration 57



Vitruvian Man from Scamozzi

It was believed that every kind of domestic architecture was very easy, in comparison with the task of erecting a sacred building 'with its fitting parts proportioned and diligently harmonised'.¹³

But the question was what proportions are harmonious? There is however, one short and obscure statement in Vitruvius, "whatever it meant in antiquity, it had a decisive influence on the Renaissance."¹⁴ In his third book on *Temples*, the famous remarks on the proportions of the human figure are present. As a proof of the harmony and perfection of the human body, he described how a well-built man, fits with extended hands and feet exactly into the most perfect geometrical figures, circle and square.¹⁵ (Illus 57)

This was not a lone idea, importance of this concept for Renaissance architects cannot be underestimated. This image haunted their artistic pursuits. We find it already in Francesco di Georgio's codex in Laurenziana. Leonardo himself interpreted Vitruvius' Text more accurately in his celebrated drawing at Venice (Illus 58), and Fra Giocondo showed the 'homo ad quadratum' and 'adcirculum' on two plates of his Vitruvius edition of 1511 AD. Cessariano gave this concept in two full page illustrations.

To the men of Renaissance, it was far more than a convenient rule: it was the foundation of a whole philosophy. Taken together with

restricting. This was the time when a very bold decision was to be taken.

Improvement of decorative schemes on one chamber graves, to which we call Semi-classical, too, was responsible for arriving at the fateful decision. As we have already pointed out that the novel changes on structural shapes never affected the prevalent, old designs abruptly. More than one type of grave existed side by side and less popular versions, gradually gave way to better looking and more popular designs.

In the semi-classical graves, the number of steps over the sarcophagus, rose from standard two to three, four and rarely to five.

The pedestals were cut no more, the fateful change gave the craftsmen more room to decorate, and structure to look more solemn and grand.

The new look was more than welcome, it bestowed over the structure the lost symmetry of early semi-classical graves. The new proportions seemed perfect, in which tribal quest of beauty had found its destination.

The early classical structure had same number of steps as its forerunner. But immediately, the number increased by one, making three intervening steps between upper chamber and the vertical headstone, thus bringing the total to nine (Illus 56).

The number again increased, bringing the total to ten. This seems to be a part of perpetual search for the perfect proportions. The emergence of classical grave in this region, very well coincides with the popular sentiment, in Europe regarding harmony in architecture. Some famous theories reigned supreme, at the art capitals of the world and many books, drawings, and projects were executed to this effect.

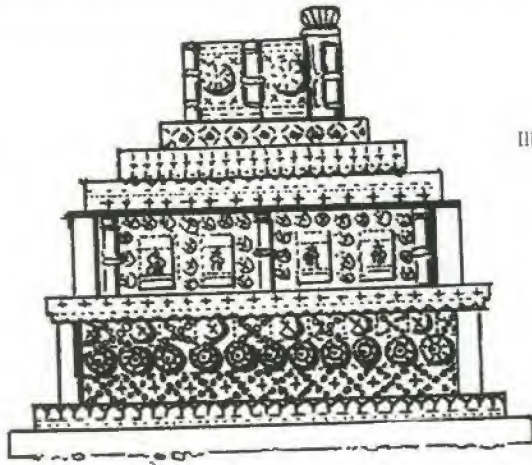


Illustration 56

With reference to this, Leon Batista Alberti said that the numbers by means of which the argument of sounds affects our ears with delight, are the very same which please our eyes and our minds.²⁰

Palladio asserted that the churches were to be built in such a manner and with such a proportions that all the parts together may convey a sweet harmony to the eyes of the beholder.²¹

What Palladio said was not about something vague, indefinable appeal to the eye but it referred to the spatial consonances produced by the interrelations of universally valid ratio.²²

The parallelism of musical and spatial proportion is oft-repeated common place, and yet, against the background of a mass of Renaissance material, it appears to have been more than a smile.²³

It will be realised that the Renaissance analogy of audible and visual proportions was no more theoretical speculations, it testifies to the solemn belief in the harmonic mathematical structure of all creation.²⁴

Palladio recommended seven shapes of rooms in the following sequence: (1) Circular, (2) Square, (3) the diagonal of the square for the length of the room, (4) a square and a third, that is 3:4 (5) a square and a half, that is 2:3, (6) a square and two thirds, that is 3:5, (7) two squares that is 1:2.²⁵

The sets of ratios for the height to width and length of the rooms, Palladio suggests three examples, first: suppose a room is 6x12 feet, its height will be 9 feet. Second: a room is 4x9 feet, its height will be 6 feet. Third: a room is again 6x12 feet its height will be 8 feet.²⁶

In the arithmetic proportions, the second term exceeds the first by the same amount as the third exceeds the first by the same amount as the third exceeds the second ($b-a=c-b$, as in 2:3:4 that is Palladio's first example).²⁷

The belief in the importance of musical proportions for art and architectures was by no means confined to only Italy. Artists and scholars in France, above all, but also in England and Spain were steeped in these ideas.

The funeral structure under our study has shown some amount of harmony in its proportions at the earlier stages of its evolution. There is hardly any doubt that even at such earlier stage the measurements were nearly uniform; clearly indicating the concern of the craftsmen to achieve and maintain symmetry.

It is very interesting to note that all graves, from earliest low lying structures to the mature classical grand structure, adhered to certain measurements very strictly.

the musical scales of Pythagoras, it seemed to offer exactly that link between sensation and order, between an organic and a geometric basis of beauty.¹⁶

The human body itself is built according to musical harmonies. This microcosm created by the Lord in His own image contains all numbers, measures, weights, motions and elements. Therefore, all the buildings in the world together with all their parts follow its norms'.¹⁷

The currency of this belief could be understood by seeing Lomazzo, who regarded musical terms so evidently applicable to the proportions of the body that he not only omitted a discussion of the common laws of musical and spatial ratios as if they were an acoustic experience. He pointed out that the distance from the top of head to the nose resounds with the distance from there to chin in triple proportions, producing the diapason and diapente; and the distance from the nose to the chin and that from chin to the meeting point collarbones with a double proportions, which makes the diapason¹⁸ (Illus 59).

In fact, it was Pythagoras, in antiquity, who discovered that tonnes can be measured in space. The musical consonances were determined by the ratios of small whole numbers. If two strings are made to vibrate under the same conditions, one being the half the length of the other, the pitch of the shorter string will be one octave (diapason), above that of the longer one.¹⁹

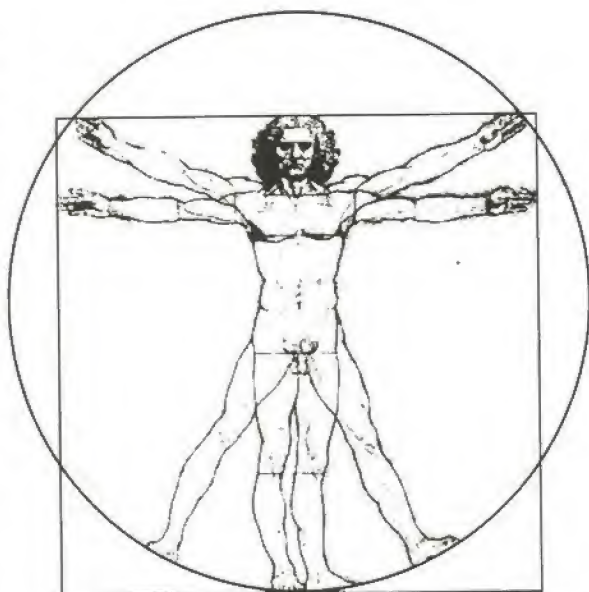


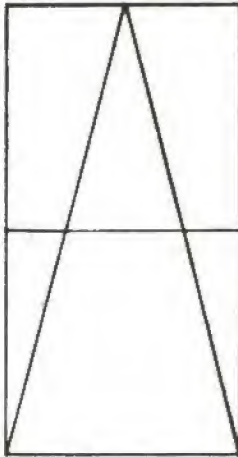
Illustration 58

Leonardo da Vinci.
Vitruvian figure,
Drawing,
Accademia, Venice

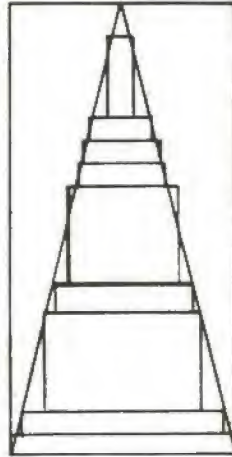


Illustration 59

Similarly, when we look at the structure sideways, it is again losing its width while rising. Taking the measurement of its base as standard we make a square under it. As per previous practice, line AB is divided in two halves by a point G. Now by joining the EG and GF we form a triangle.



A



B

Illustration 61

The structure could be seen well within lines, while rising; it was this feeling which prompted the observation of early writers regarding construction of these graves to be pyramidal (Illus 61).

The structure attaining harmonious proportions and acquiring universal carving is what we label as *classical grave*.

Once a craftsman reached pinnacle of this style, he didn't sit quiet, but went on in search of possible development in venerable structure, which struck awe and earned admiration of the

folks. The band courses over the upper chamber, which have gone up to four and sometimes five numbers, initially, comprised two slabs each, in early *classical* graves and the *semi-classical* graves of corresponding period. As the structure matured, and was enriched with developed decoration, the slabs increased in numbers, in each step. The master craftsman everywhere, thought to add something new to the structure to outclass the rivals. As expected, soon, new elements were experimented, few of which failed to make way, and some others took the fancy of the folks. Here, we will discuss some such elements which were tried, regardless of the fact that those continued for long or vanished immediately. As subsequent references will automatically reveal the continual presence of some of those elements which braved the time.

First thing, which could be confirmed is introduction of a niche. This was a rectangular opening formed by jutting out piece of the slab, containing niche and its four borders. The recess comprises the thickness of the jutting out piece as well as additional two centimetres in the mother slab. This element is supposedly borrowed from Hindu sacred architecture, without its essential derivatives. The deep recess made it look alike of fenestella. But it was, too, bold a thing to be tolerated by beauty conscious population. Soon it shed away the size and its awkward corners (Picture E).

For this objective, was there a pre-set formula available with the local craftsmen? To have some idea of this, we will have to go deeper into the question, apart from apparent proportions; the actual measurements may help in formulating some idea.

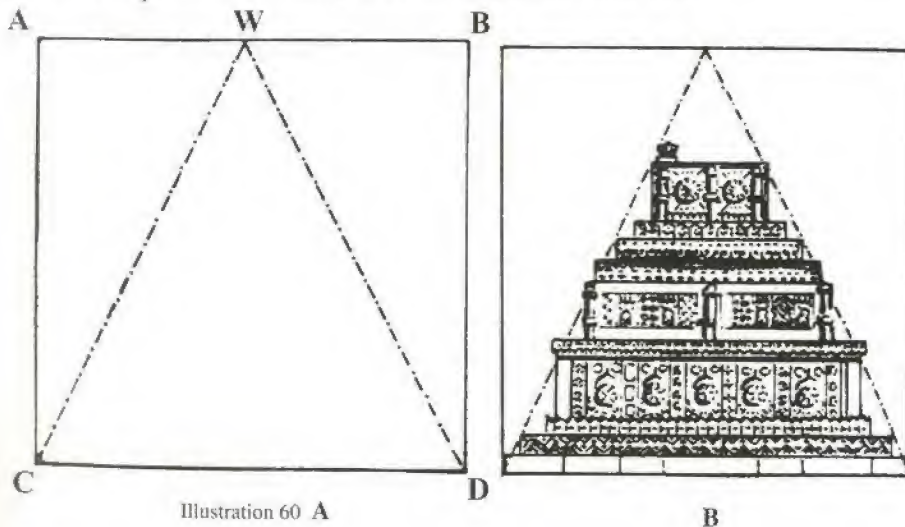
As we have seen, our structure comprises various stages, while it climbs up. Normally, it has a plinth, a low base, a chamber, that is crowned with a headstone, but in between it and the sarcophagus they are normally from one to four band courses. The size of each step keeps on decreasing, as the structure climbs high.

The closer scrutiny has revealed that the measurements of each stage, in similar structure, is generally equal or near equal stage, in similar structure, it is generally equal or near equal, even though the location of respective graveyards is not same.

But it is not the individual stage and its measurement which affects the look of the whole structure, it is the harmonious decrease or increase of proportions between stage which invites instant admiration.

When the structure is seen from the broader side that is lengthwise, its base has the longer measurement. Taking this measurement as standard, if we draw a square around the structure, we can easily visualise the formula governing the construction of these graves.

Suppose ABCD is a square having each side of 300cms. While on midway, on the line AB is point W. If the point C, W and D are joined by drawing two straight lines, it forms a triangle CWD. Now we see that our structure is rising fully in line with the triangle, as its size keeps on diminishing with such harmony (Illus 60).



chamber, underneath. But similar descriptions can hardly stand the ground, on account of these being present over some of the band courses, on one hand, and on the other hand, while there are two brackets on each corner of the chamber, there is only one knob over each corner of the chamber, thus, the idea of it being head of the bracket is totally refuted. The third thing is when the brackets do have the heads, these are clear continuation of the shaft underneath and are not placed wide off the mark, as we find majority of thimbles in situ.

The major outgrowth of the structure, after its maturity, is emergence of biers. As the upper chamber was given appearance of the catafalque, it received the biers quite naturally.

Encouraged greatly by multilevel carving, the lotus like jutting out short biers were first to make appearance. As the length increased, so the shapes were transformed. It is not very difficult to say normal surface level. This element was further developed, when the initial circular jutting lotuses were mere design innovation which paved the way for the novel nation of biers to take exact shape. Available evidence, though not in abundance is sufficient to support this idea. The high relief carving was taking fancy of the artisan, the lotus was carved a bit high in relief, jutting out prominently, from the first niche was made to stand out of surface, in quest of multilevel structure. It is very interesting to note that these lotuses were placed on the northern end and southern side of the chamber, near its base, not over it, where the catafalque (ڈولی ڈولی), usually, has the biers. Therefore, we see the same lotus shape outgrowth playing the dual role of decorative element and the short bier. These are short enough to justify doubts over this assertion. The subsequent development, however, dispels all doubts regarding the depiction of biers over the upper chamber.

Though the bier primarily came as decorative innovation, it has very limited variety of shapes. 'Generally, there is similarity in design if the biers, as expected, these are not extravagantly off the mark'.²⁹ The only variations are either early evolving forms, as discussed above, or the one late variety which will be discussed hereafter.

As said above, the bier, was extended part of the band course, immediately over the upper chamber, to fill the role of supporting shaft of the catafalque. It gradually moved upwards, in mature graves, it is seen also a step further higher, coming over its natural position, forming the part of the band course over the one, which is immediately above the chamber. It still moved up, in late mature structures, making it on the third band course over the upper chamber. This essentially denies its role of bier and limits it to mere

Second thing, which emerged was side brackets, normally adorning niches in Hindu buildings, here seen altogether in different role. Similar sort of pillarets, only a bit larger and more elaborate, also adorned the sides of *Mehrab*s of mosques in urban centres.

The closest examples could be seen in Necropolis of Makli and the far off specimen are present in Delhi (Picture AJ).

The side brackets came and adorned the upper chamber corners. Was it an element copied out of the wooden structure of a coffin, or an enlargement and adaption of the niche corner decoration? This question is not easier to answer. However, on the basis of evidence where the upper chamber is secured in chains, like coffin, which was normally transported on camel back to distances, having brackets, it may be assumed that the structure might have received considerable influence in the matter.²⁸ These side supports, in their various shapes, have been restrengthened at the middle by proper chains, ropes or like representations, thus making the role of these brackets somewhat obvious.

Initially, these brackets were confined to four corners of the chamber, later it extended to lower chamber as well and also, to the headstone, thus, making it a mere decorative enlargement (Refer to picture AJ).

It was the age when decorative elements were fully developed, with the combination of high and low relief, the artisan, had been able to utilise the open air sunshine and deep shadows to great advantage. With addition of niches and brackets the structure was given multilevel (Picture G). This affected the look of simple receding structure slightly, as at places the subsequent stage became more thicker or wider than the stage under it (Picture J). The brackets were also added at the midpoint of the chamber, (Refer to Picture G), making it heavier. This loss of lightness in the structure was greatly felt, as this multilevel extravaganza soon bowed out also on account of affecting harmonious proportions of the structure. In its place, all earlier experiments were given a 'saner' look, multilevel continued, but in subdued tones, that pleased the eye.

The other thing, which appeared after the wholesome carving, was the knob like thimbles on key stages that is over the corners of the upper chamber, or lower chamber, likewise on the corners of platforms, which were added to some of the classical graves (Picture H).

It is quite difficult to ascertain 'raison detre' of appearance of these knob like thimbles over the corners of the chambers, or over some of the steps, especially those coming immediately under the headstone. It was thought that these are heads of the brackets of the

faced headstone is in abundance, so is the vertical one. But the pieces of intervening period though widespread are in limited numbers.

The northern end of the vertical headstone, where normally circle was present, stood out in decorative treatment on the eastern and western broad sides. This might have paved the way for rise of northern end, from its smooth surface, as did the circle itself.

The initial specimen may be the shorter pillarete, just jutting out of their square basis (Illus 62, A), occasionally, with right-sided intervening step.

The graves from formative classical period showed the crude rendering of a turban (Illus 62, B and C).

Illustration 62



It is not out of place to presume these to belong to the pre-Turkic period. As the arch rival of the Turks, Darya khan – the defiant army commander, who resisted the Arghun onslaught in the earlier decades of sixteenth century, is buried under such grave. During the formative and classical period, the turbans acquired various shapes, but not much varying from the initial ones (Illus 63).



Illustration 63

decoration which certainly is the concern of master craftsmen, however, such varieties remained strictly limited thus are negligible (Picture K).

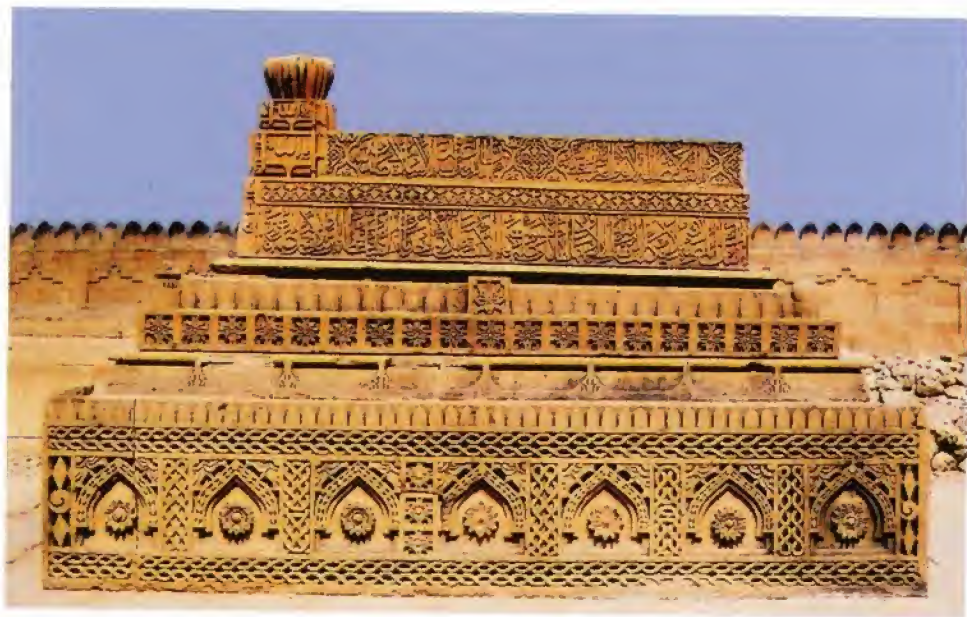
The decorative extension of the biers is seen also in Taung, where these are jutting out at the middle of the broader side of upper chamber also, two each on both sides (Picture L). The bier though strictly maintained its proper shape, despite some decorative elements applied to it, but few intelligent observers were quite off the mark in interpreting this element, one thought it resembled the head of an alligator.³⁰ There is, however, no such decorative application observed that could have promoted this remark.

In three post mature, late classical structures, one strange feature is observed, that is not only novel but unique as well. These three graves belong to one family and seem to be the work of one and the same craftsman. Here, the finial of each one of four biers shows the fingers of hand. The hand is placed like it rests on the knees in sitting posture (*JALSA*), in Muslim prayers. By simple lines, not in life like relief, the depiction is restricted only to hand, beyond it the lines continue to move in decorative zigzag. The rest of the bier is cut and carved in its characteristic shape. This innovation again has no base in tradition and no precedence or following in practice (Picture N).

Before we move to discuss the inception of platforms, underneath these mini pyramids, it is most appropriate to see various shapes of the turban like thimbles, on headstones and their possible evolution.

As we have earlier referred that the peculiar headstone, which is a hallmark of unique graves, evolved from the thin slab, lying over the earlier low lying structures. This slab kept on getting thick on the low lying crude structured graves. As these went on gaining thickness, these proportionately altered in other dimensions. Its broad face kept on shrinking slowly, the length, too, was getting less. Thus, the decorative motifs also underwent a change, the only things persisted were the pressed borders with the jutting ribs and the circle on northern end. The size of decorative motifs did shrink as the broad face kept on getting narrower, and also shed other components of the scheme. In the final run, only a small circle survived.

It is interesting to note that there was a gradual change in the headstone, till it acquired the unique vertical position. The point to note is that the stage where it finally arrived, possess the balanced look. Otherwise, whole journey was of uneasiness and that can be easily read in the structures of intervening period. One can seldom see any piece appealing adequately to the aesthetic sense. Broad-



Picture C: Grave of Darya Khan, *Makli*.



Picture D: Grave with unique headstone. Daras Varyo.



Picture A: A Grave at Nandna.



Picture B: Summa period grave, *Makli*.



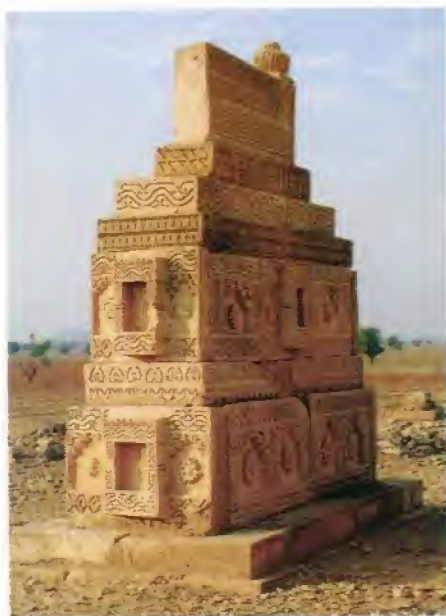
Picture J: Mature
classical grave,
Tando graveyard
Gadani



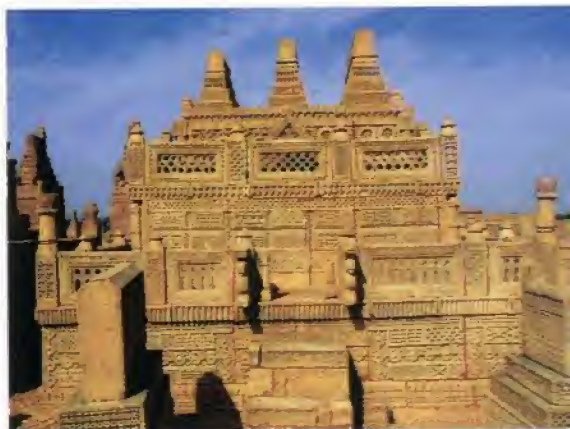
Picture K: Formative period
classical grave, showing
jutting out lotus, later,
developed in to biers.



Picture L: Rich classical
grave, showing developed
biers on all four sides, *Taung*.



Picture E: Experimental niches on an early classical grave, Taung



Picture F: Common chamber graves over twin platforms, transit period, Taung.



Picture G: Formative period niches, early classical grave, Taung.



Picture H: Rich classical grave, Taung.



Picture O: Early platform, under cut-arch grave, *Chaukhandi*.



Picture P: Kalhora period graves, platform shows arches over crypt,
Mian Noor Mohammad.



Picture M: Bier on a late classical grave, *Pir Mazno*.



Picture N: Another view of the bier, *Pir Mazno*.



Picture S: The stone pierced screens here, resemble the Mughal design, Taung.



Picture T: The Mughal miniature of 17th century, similar design of a railing.



Picture U: The platform added height to the grave, Chukhandi graveyard.



Picture Q: The corner post have the normal turban shape, late classical graves having stone screens, Taung.



Picture R: The detached corner posts, fixed on the corners of the platform, *Chaukhandi*.

arrived at the *classical* phase. *Semi-classical* and *crude cut arch* graves were order of the day. Soon the 'shaft base' of the pillarete lost esteem of the folks and bowed out of fashion. But some of its height was transformed into the pillarete itself, by giving it additional bands (Illus 67).



Illustration 67

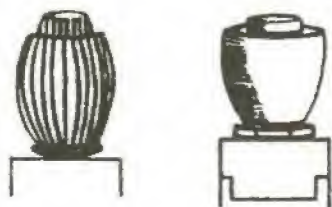


Illustration 68

At the same time, the classical structure made its appearance. This being a comprehensive scheme of all the experiments earlier carried on, was understandably a sum total of a balanced and beautiful structure. The turban design was also picked up, among all the hitherto practiced designs (Illus 68).

The decorative schemes were also developing into multilevel cuts and carvings. Aided with this the headstones were acquiring an ideal new look. The size also changed bringing the ideal dimension,



Illustration 69

to the headstone. The former longish look was improved with the addition of divisions at base, though the pillarete rose still higher but the turban shape remained balanced (Illus

69).

The pillarete/turban was standardised for a sort of patent design. The artisan left the turban for a while and added accessories to the base only (Illus 70).



Illustration 70

The basic motive behind the inception of platform is same, as the rendering of the look of grandeur to the structure. The platforms which came and elevated the *crude* structures were not the first to make appearance in this area.

The earliest platforms with the graves are found in the valleys of *Mol* and *Malir*.

These are simpler, though the artisans have tried to use imagination for creation of novelty. Later, efforts were successful to the extent that visible departure from original proportionate pillarete was achieved but the balance was lost (Illus 64 ABC).



Illustration 64

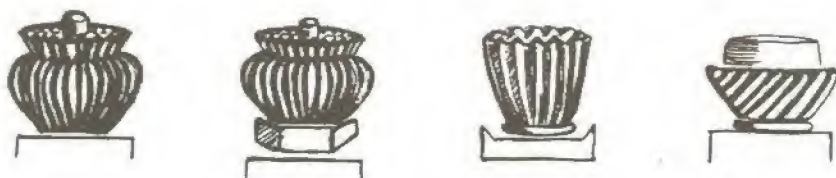


Illustration 65



Illustration 66

While losing unnecessary height, the pillarete became the permanent and natural part of the grave, and for a while it didn't get the unnecessary indulgence of the artisan.

Once again, the pillarete gained the height, but this time the base on which it stood, went high. The artisan, due to past experiences, couldn't dare to add to the pillarete itself, for fear of losing its good looks (Illus 66).

This was the period when the artisan was breaking away from the old fashioned decorative motifs and was experimenting successfully with the small compact geometric designs and fill every possible place on the structure. Till that moment the structure itself had not

Further development was again in the similar direction that is the bricks. The stone of choice was cut slightly and roughly dressed. Resulting in uneven bricks of different sizes for instance, small, big, etc., which were then adjusted to form a grave of 7x3x3 feet. Some sort of uniformity in stone slabs was to follow, then the stone slab went to be more precisely dressed (Illus 72).

Illustration 72



The construction is from stone blocks of five dressed sides, while one side is left unworked, that is turned inside. And all around rectangular wall is constructed of these blocks, no mortar is used. Inside the pit is filled with rubble and sand. In view of the present situation, it is difficult to say how the upper level was manage and what shape was given to the grave.

This stone built grave has four band courses of dressed stone pieces, including plinth. The smaller graves are also observed, belonging to children having three band courses, including the plinth. With the reduced height, the length and breadth too are smaller. Graves singularly or collectively are enclosed in the compound or Hazra, marked with undressed stone. The Hazra or Hudera as folks dub it, in Lasbella district, has a Mihrab on western side. Entrance is on eastern side, opposite the mihrab, both are of the equal size.

The grave did not develop further, as we see them only in the limited area of their origin and there is no such structure indicating furtherance in design or construction. The culmination of these graves is very unnatural and requires an explanation, if we don't take transformation of these into platforms, to the stone carved graves, a strong probability.

The squarish platform of about 8x7 feet, with a plinth band, jutting out at the base is a very simpler construction. An old round low wall of about 3 feet height was construction out of stone block, normally of 14x20x8 inches, without the mortar. This was filled in with the stony gravel. There is no indication or contradiction to suggest that the dead body was laid in the cubical, this could only be ascertained after proper opening is performed.

One or two graves are placed on each of the platform. The grave structure was most probably marked with piled stones and gravel, presently, the upper surface is plain or there is growth of wild bushes.

The model and method of the construction suggest these platforms contemporaneous to the earliest graves. There is every likelihood to consider these sort of platforms to be another structural variation of a grave which bowed out in favour of carved structures, being easy in execution and better in looks.

The origin of platforms, most probably can be, attributed to the old graves constructed out of sandstone layer broken bricks. The layers of about 2 to 3 inches, quarried from near surface are broken into bricks ranging from ten to twelve inches in length and nearly half of it in breadth. The graves are normally 7/12 feet long and 2 1/2 to 3 feet wide. These are low in height, with the long slabs vertically, covering the awkward look of uneven layers. The centre of the grave is filled with the stone and the sand.

This structure was further developed a bit larger. The choice of the layers and breaking them into the bricks were given more care. Resulting structure is more neat. Here, too, only the walls were made all around and central pit was filled with grave sand (Illus 71).



Illustration 71



Illustration 74

platform constructed. Some observed instances suggesting the idea of pit with in platform is undoubted, so far.

The crypt is made in the pit, dug in the ground and often paved with the stone. The crypt is covered with the stone slabs put oblique over it and joined by top slabs forming a cover (Illus 73).

To further strengthen it, the oblique slabs were supported with the cut arch stone slabs put at southern, as well as northern ends (Illus 74).

developed form. The vertical slabs stood over a plinth band and also had an upper band course, the whole construction is dome

characteristically without mortar.

There are sometimes doubts regarding burial, whether the body is laid superterrean and over which the

The platform in Makli, under Turkhan graves, too, have revealed presence of supporting arches over the crypts. Similar practice continued through subsequent periods, where so many Kalhora period graves do betray same arrangements even if the medium of construction is different (Picture P).

The platform, too, went elaborate after the graves. Its normal construction was the vertical slab band over the plinth, topped by another band forming top of the platforms.

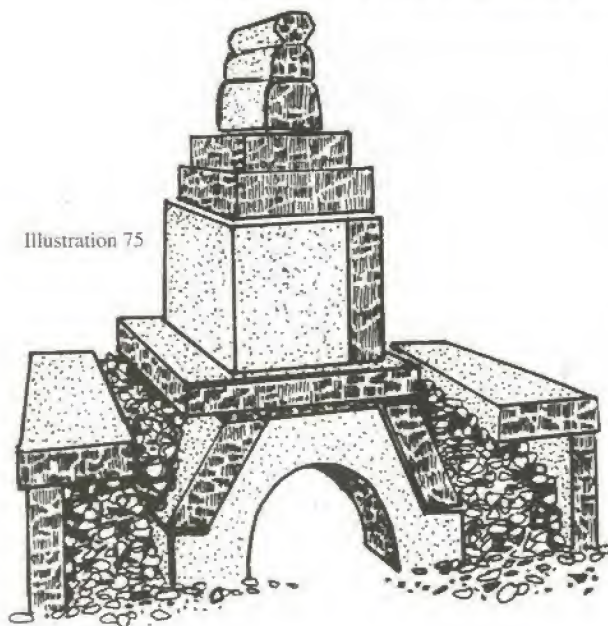


Illustration 75



Illustration 73



Illustration 73 A

The formal platform seen at Chaukhandi graveyard, is made of vertically standing stone slabs, holding the mud, stone and gravel as the filling, over which stands the elaborated carved graves. The platform is wide and large, to leave considerable space all around the graves. These sort of platform are independent of the structure over them. It is interesting to note that the space for graves to be dug in the future is also left over these.

This kind of platform first made their appearance when the *crude* graves acquired full height, with low lying as well as vertical headstone (Picture O).

The platform till then, was sort of a joint holder of the graves of a family, it also made its appearance under a singular grave in its



Picture X: Most popular structure in late classical and early transit periods, Taung.



Picture Y: Upper chamber became common in late classical period graves. Taung



Picture V: The Summa period pierced stone design, Makli.



Picture W: various pierced stone designs normally adorned same structure, Taung



Picture AC: The platform, added height to the grave, Taung



Picture AD: Likeness of Charpai /bed post is frequently seen in transit period grave, Chaukhandi



Picture Z: The addition of extra chamber rendered extra height to the mature structure, Taung



Picture AB: Popularity of grand structures prompted inception of double platforms, Manghopir



Picture AG: Semi-classical grave, Chaukhandi.



Picture AH: Transit period, one chamber grave, saddled over richly carved platform, Chaukhandi.



Picture AE: Difference in structures between classical and Transit period graves is visible, Chaukhandi

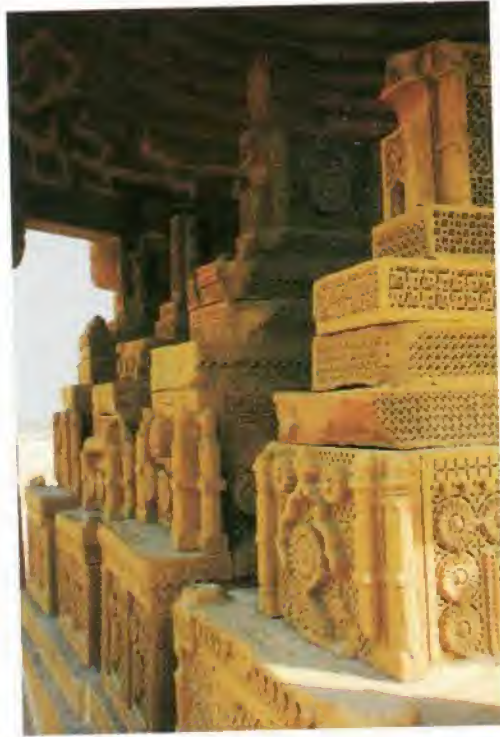


Picture AF: corners of platforms show decorative pillerate, Taung

Picture AL: The rich highly ornate turban
from classical period, Chaukhandi.



Picture AM: Equally rich turban of
transit period, Bela graveyard.



Picture AJ: Classical graves, under a chaukhandi, Chaukhandi graveyard.



Picture AK: Chaukhandi of Jam Mureed, Chaukhandi graveyard.



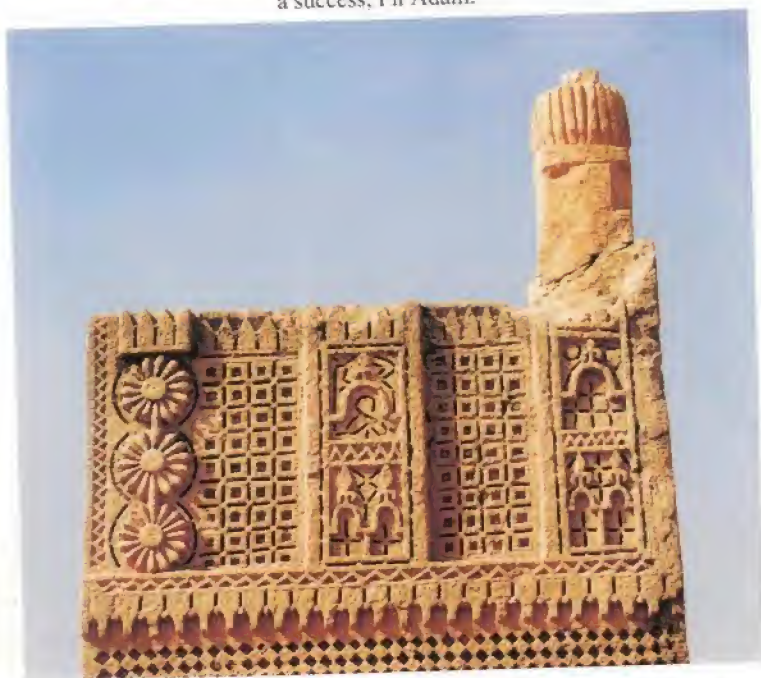
Picture AP: Tendency to go taller can be seen in headstones as well, Taung.



Picture AQ: Transit period Chaukhandis at Pir Lakho.



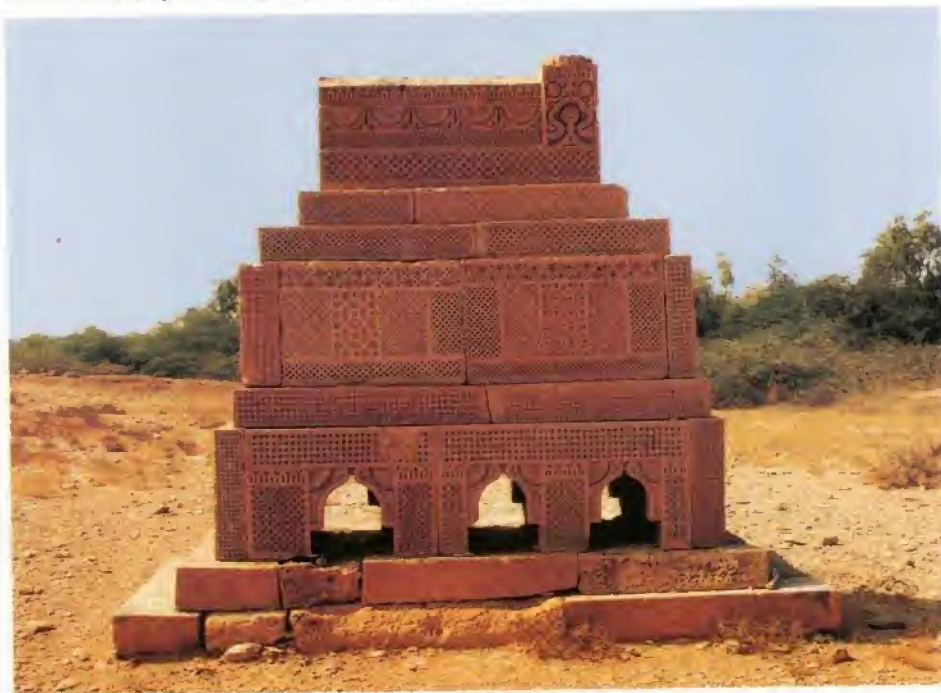
Picture AN: Efforts to create magnificent turbans were not always a success, Pir Adam.



Picture AO: The higher turbans were not always impressive. Taung.C



Picture AT: Developed crude grave, standing on pedestals, probable fore-runner of cut-arch structures Bala



Picture AU: Highly decorated cut arch grave, Chaukhandi.



Picture AR: Low lying graves. Bala



Picture AS: One chamber crude grave, Bhawani



Picture AX: Mounted warriors adored some graves, Makli.



Picture AY: Another highly decorated warrior astride his charger. *Daras Varyo*



Picture AV: Bed posts could be seen adorning the common chamber.
a symbolic rendering, Tak Makan



Picture AW: Classical structure over a platform, Chaukhandi.



Picture AAB: Grave of Hala bin Kapat, Chaukhandi



Picture AAC: Grave of Wadera Karimdad, Ex Jam of Jokhias, Makli.



Picture AZ: Women graves do have jewelry carved. *Bela*



Picture AAA: Highly ornate carving showing great variety of jewellery worn by women in XVIIIth century, *Bela*

Identifiable to different phases, the slab has thick frame and thinner central area worked out in a geometrical design that is multiplied to form the whole. Interesting enough, each length has different design. Here, too, the nomadic liberal attitude has its preferences. Support posts have the knob like head and throughout its presence, till the late transit period, this knob like head remained more or less the same (Picture W,C).

The platform underwent transformation, directly affecting the classical grave. We will be returning to it, when we'll discuss the structural evolution of the grave to that point.

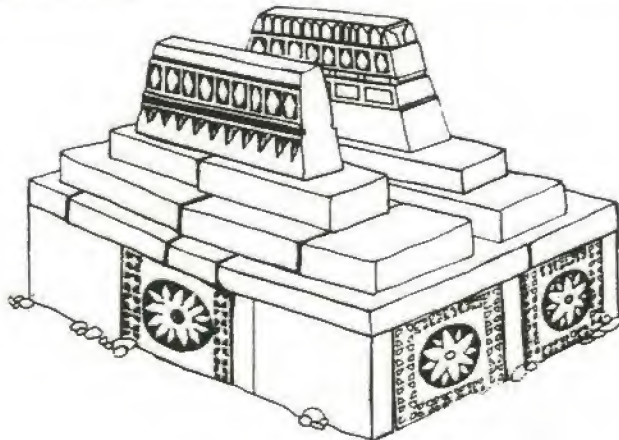
The classical grave in all its majesty, not only mounted the platform, but it was given height in its logical continuation, that is, by adding chambers to it in conventional style (Picture Z).

The two chambered grave was given third chamber just above the upper one, as a matter of course, with no deviation of style or method.

Sooner the three chambers were given an additional chamber, making it to four. This height mongering also dictated an increase in number of band course of regular diminishing sizes at the upper portion. This number rose to five, over the uppermost chamber (Picture Z). As if this was not sufficient, the turban, too, went high acquiring uncharacteristic design and styles. This spree of going higher, soon resulted in common chambers, where the graves were more than one.

The short distance between the burials dictated closeness of the grave structures, resulting in the common lower chamber graves. And this phenomenon merged at a very early stage, manifestation of which can be observed in crude one chamber graves, in all the early period graveyards (Illustration 76).

Illustration 76



With the carving came the corner posts on the platforms. It constituted a part of the vertical slab that formed the corner. While growing out of this intermediate slab, it was not only part of the ornamentation of originating part as well as became a separate decorative element.

All along the mature classical period, the platforms being part of the whole were still and independent element, with distinct identity. This was mainly possible due to its wideness, providing ample visual space between the grave and its agenda (Illus 75).

The corner posts were influenced by the development in the turban designs, as so many identical designs could be seen. Interestingly, the turban of the grave standing over the platform is copied ditto on the corner posts of same platform (Picture O and W).

The second variation was the independent pillarete, which was placed in the cut hole on each corner. This feature, too, was in great favour and helped artisan a lot, to work jutting out upper band course, of the platform (Picture R and U).

Third variety was the corner posts, worked out from the corner slab, forming part of upper band course. In this variety, normally, the corner posts were of smaller size, as the horizontal slab cannot possibly allow for much higher post.

Under the mature classical platforms, the double plinth was normally found, as was the case with the graves of the period. The lower plinths were generally simple and the upper one had decorative fret carved.

Another good thing which came in the wake of higher corner posts was the punctured stone screen. The corner posts were raised a bit to form joint pillarete: joining various lengths of screen, all around. The screen was necessarily an urban element, already matured, as here we hardly find any signs of tentative effort. The full grown style is in commensurate with our knowledge of the screens of marble and sandstone, employed by Mughals and Rajputs on their buildings (Pictures: S,T,W,X).

Highly decorated temples did have befitting pierced stone screens, but this art was perfected by the Muslims. The lattice work is seen not only in windows but also for screen railings around the tombs, in Gujrat and buildings of the Mughals.

The screens are not in follow up of the Summas period perforated stones, used in the sarcophagus and also on earliest common plinth platforms of that period (Picture V). Here, the grill is very low and in balance with the platform. Various lengths of the grill slabs, in all instances, have the same size varied distinctly.

slight changes; though these were very slight, the structure altered its looks and lost its balance.

Apart from the decorative schemes, the changes can be located at the headstone: decreased number of course bands underneath, reduced length of the upper chamber and loss of symmetrical ratio between upper and lower chamber (Picture AE).

The political change inaugurated the period of communication, and, thus, an age-old isolation came to an end with the fall of Mughal Nawabs. Local *zamidars* were taking reigns and becoming vassals of Delhi and Kandhar. They needed support of these warrior tribes and contacts were frequent. This was the background against which the unique grave started losing its identity the change started. It was not on the usual pace of evolution that had continued in the Kohistan area since centuries, but was at the faster pace, affected by access to urban splendours.

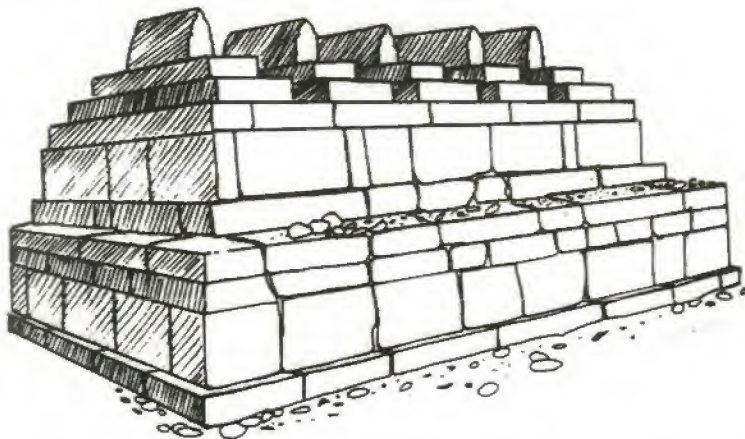
The side brackets which previously were seen on the chambers went down and became part of the decorative scheme of the corners of the platforms (Picture AF). This still changed its complexion further. The social change sought in by the new developments, caused clusters of settlements to emerge on the horizon. The semi-nomadic spirit was giving way to the comforts of settled life. The nearness to the burial sites did not require the transportation of the dead bodies in the coffin on camel-backs. The dead were carried on his own bed (*Khatt/Charpoy*). The corners of the chambers and platforms were now the depiction of the bed post (*Pao/Paya*), like it did at the urban centres (Picture AD). Its depiction was not necessarily an effort at real portrayal, it symbolised the changing realities of life. In common chamber graves, only four posts adorn the corners, practical requirements made it least important to allocate four bed posts to each grave (Picture AB).

The transit period instantly altered the headstone. The vertical slab was gone; instead a fulsome rectangular still came for the graves of ladies and a keel top still adorn the male graves. The turban still was present on all male graves.

The transit period offered largely three patterns of the graves: first was the simple grave, a very low structure comprising two/three band courses, under a headstone. This simplified structure is in the similar spirit and has continued from the times of *semi-classical* graves, but having no chamber. The second was the one-chambered grave placed over a platform (Picture AH). Third is the most elaborate of all, having double platforms underneath. The graves which have one chamber are common (Picture F).

In all such cases, the conscious efforts are visible to keep the distinction between the graves, despite common chamber.

During the early period, the platform was introduced, which came beneath the common chamber crude graves (Illustration 77). This platform understandably was simple and without carving.



As the carving increased, the structure rose and, in certain cases, *semi-classical* graves, too, have been given a simple platform (Refer to picture O). These platforms are distinct from the classical period platforms in two ways: one, these are single and, two, these are a bit higher.

The *semi-classical* graves with common chamber were popular, as these offer an adequate area for practicing the running fret (Picture X). This practice was soon popular and the lower chamber of the classical graves were turned into the platforms and the upper chambers so often went common (Picture Y).

These practices were common during the mature period, thus, the decoration and structural design remain the same. The popularity of the grand structure made it possible that the classical graves were transformed into common lower chamber graves, even when these were having an elaborate platform underneath (Picture AG).

LATE CLASSICAL

Post-classical period platforms again rose higher whether these were under one chamber graves, or under two chamber graves (Picture AC). This was the time when the structure itself underwent



Illustration 79

The turbans, also like one of the kinds of the corner posts, of the platforms, were made separately and placed on the headstone. The assembly was of a blind, mortise and stub tendon. In this case, neither is visible, making it a complete whole (Illustration 79).

In transit period, the keel headstone were turbans on male graves, as seen above, fixed as well as separately prepared and assembled; these range from very simple to exquisitely carved. The general deterioration was caused due to multiple reasons. Developed communication had affected the atmosphere as orthodox religious sectors and urban elite practices influenced the folks greatly.

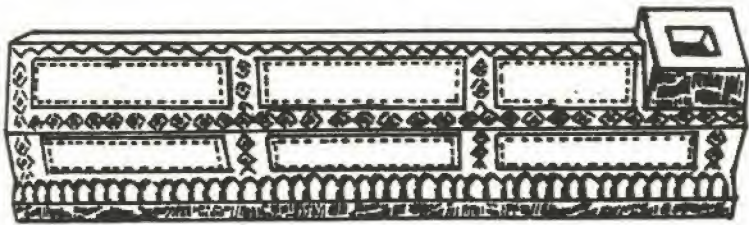


Illustration 79-B

The economic conditions at the nearest market centre, Thatta were getting worse from bad; however, there were exceptions, too, where very elaborate and beautiful structures of grand magnitude were erected, as at *Bela* and *Tak Makan*.

The magnificent turban of Ghulam Shah is a rarity (Picture AM), but its cheap copies were in abundance. Independent designs were also carved, but these two were victims of general deteriorating conditions. Likewise, poor copies of earlier turbans were carved.

Post *classical* structure, true in line with the mainstream of influences, went into a *Transit* state. From where it came, slowly evolving into the normal funeral practice of all other people. But there were other deviations, too. The ever looming image of the *classical* structure, too, was contributing to some degrees, though all efforts at producing such grand and graceful structures failed to produce a single grave worthy of mention.

Thus, died the unique funeral structure, Kohistani tribes brought into being, as representatives of their restless but beautiful souls. The nomadic nature could hardly agree to building magnificent houses, but the respect for falling heroes made the majestic graves possible.³³ Chivalrous character found its satisfaction in glorifying the valiant ones, indifferent to the religious structures or the costs involved³⁴. ■

TURBAN SHAPES

The mature period utilized every design hitherto perfected; the only requirement was the balanced look. The artisans preferred not too low, or too high specimen (Illustration 78).

The intricacies were added not as an important element. The simple designs were also practiced.

The grandiose structure necessitated a more serious approach for the turban as well. As the members of the ruling families were buried, too, in such graves, the elaborate turban was envisaged and carved out. This was the pinnacle of the craftsmanship and imagination (Picture AL).

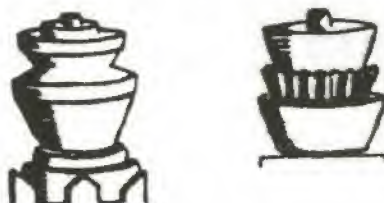


Illustration 78

The shape resembled the crown, not necessarily pointed to the claim of interned person to the ruler-ship, but as being an artistic achievement, led by and spark of imagination on some chance reference. The mastery of craftsmen is calling for admiration and it must be looked at from this point of view.

The pattern was copied by others, and may have satisfied the sponsors but results are not of such merit (Picture AN). Late classical specimen are far and wide, as far as the designs are concerned. The artisan, conscious of his duty, was in search of beauty and balance constantly haunted by the past masters, his task was tedious. These efforts are reflected in the turban shapes of this period (Picture AP). Once again the swing of preference went towards height. The structure, too, acquired additional chambers, platforms and band courses. The turban lost whatever its character was left. It was now everything but the turban. (Picture AO). The structural evolution led mainstream out of classical course, as we have seen³¹ the developed communication channelized the major efforts in some other direction. However, the old structure persisted. In its persistence, the classical structure understandably had lost its dynamism, the artisan practising it felt no challenge and, due to the lack of initiative, the graves lost their essential ingredients and look³².

The headstone, too, suffered the same fate and the turban went bare. On the other hand, the changed post-classical structures were receiving new attention and the experiments continued, resulting in some turbans of curiously interesting types.

dwelled. A century or so latter a major wave of *Hoats/Kalmatis* swelled the narrow values of *Kanrach*, *Winder*, et cetera. This area is called *Baro* in tribal poetry.

The concentration of incomers compelled them to cross over to *Baran*. The frequent intrusions were resented by *Naumrias/Bulfats*, who considered themselves masters of that area. The mounted tension caused heavy loss of life of *Kalmatis*. Again, after considerable lapse of time, the *Baloch*, true to their tradition, prepared themselves and avenged the earlier defeat quite appropriately. Couple of epic poems are fortunately preserved, that give some interesting details. The last action must have been before the inception of *Mughals* in *Sindh*. These are the times of famous *Malik Tuta*.

A bit more rough graves can be observed at *Pir Lakho*. These are of bigger dimensions and look old, but unfortunately, could not be identified with any prominent personality or any event, to correlate these to particular phase of history. A few inscriptions, though are there, but can't be read. Absence of any decoration also is one of the facts that restrict placement of these in any particular period.

As these are similar to some of the structures at *Kalo Kohar* and those corresponding to regular graves help in placing these in approximate time slot.

Kalo Kohar, apart from these roughly dressed slab graves, has early crude ones, and also the enclosures, with early *Summa* period punctured windows. Thus, we can assume these structures to be of early *Summa* period or may be slightly earlier.



The early crude graves can be seen in the graveyards at *Pir Lakho* and *Omer Jowan*

Regular shaped low-lying graves are seen in all earlier and even classical period graveyards. *Bala* has a good collection of these graves, in all its variations. It is a telling fact that the earlier *Kalmati* *Maliks* are buried under the developed graves; these structures have an added chamber, and are at least hundred years later than the earlier low-lying graves there. *Malik*

Ibrahim and *Malik Ismaeel* are placed in the late fifteenth century, thus the developed crude graves in *Bala* have the time period assigned. Few *Kalmati* notables of this period are also found buried under the structures, appropriate to the time assigned to these.

The *Radha Muhammadanis* and *Radha Angaria* are represented among the buried persons here. *Radha Muhammadanis* were the ruling clan of *Kalmatis* at that time.

The Graveyards

The nomadic nature of the tribes and the arid landscape were mutually responsible for widely scattered graveyards, besides a constant struggle for holding the greener pastures, among the various tribes.

As discussed earlier, fairly large area, in Balochistan, and equally wide region in Sindh boast presence of these structures. Many large and small graveyards could be observed over small hillocks, near old routes, inviting curiosity of the passers-by/visitors, and as a result leaving them bewildered as to what caused these graves to be constructed at such isolated places.

The pastoralists were averse to settle at one place, the presence of grazing grass lured to one valley after the other.

The allies of Mol and Malir has many graves of dressed stone without decoration, visible belonging to earlier phase. It is here that we find platform type of construction as graves. Good examples of these graves are seen at *Gorban* and also at *Baluch Tombs*. The second kind is made out of roughly dressed slabs. Sarcophagus put over plinth of the stone slabs, understandable affected the later structures.

Even the simple observation places these two types in the earlier phase, when the funeral architectural practices by the newcomers were individual articulations and were far from affecting a uniform style. Concentration of such graves at *Kalo Kohar* and graveyard of *Mal Muhari* is considerable. Quite

different from the regular low lying structures, these graves are devoid of decorations. The shapes and sizes of sarcophagus are not uniform. The head stone, too, has various shapes, right from unusually high keel type slab, resting lengthwise on the sarcophagus, to flat slap shapes.

The study has left no room for doubt that the typical stone carved grave evolved from the irregular and not so uniform pattern graves, scattered in the area called Maheer, that is, the areas between the Hub and Malir rivers. It is here that the early Baloch immigrants



The platform type graves are present only in one stone carved graveyard in Malir Valley, i.e. *Baluch Tombs*.

Bhawani is one major graveyard, which served its purpose for an extended period. It helps in understanding the transformation of *cut arch* grave into the *classical* one. Unfortunately, the names inscribed on the graves are presently of no help, as these do not occur in the hitherto available family traditions of the tribal people.



The only *Murghgar* known to have been buried under stone carved grave. *Mandiari*

Despite their mass migration to Lasbella and Sindh, Kalmatis had the hold over the native Kalmat area. It is said that the Malik Zardar's son-in-law was unseated through conspiracy that was avenged by Beo, son of Malik Zardar. As Kamal Khan fell victim to the conspiracy while he went out on bird-hunting, his descendants out of mockery were dubbed as Murgher (مرغر), 'those who catch birds'.

The Murghers are least represented in the graveyards with stone carved graves; they are presently settled at Malir. One of the graves at *Mandiari* bears an inscription, indicating a Murgher buried there. The graveyard is in ruins, closer study of the misplaced slabs may reveal more names of the clan, however, the tradition do place them there for quite some time.

Jam Radho Jokhio is buried under a double chamber grave at Chaukandi graveyard. Peculiar decoration on his grave and the structure itself is of much importance, as it shows persistence of an old form unpopular grave which was a stage earlier than the classical. On the other hand, we find Jam Mureed *bin* (son of) Haji buried under a classical grave. This particular structure could never have been earlier than the mid-seventeenth century of Christian era. He is famous for the defiance shown to the Mughals, and was ultimately taken prisoner by the Mughal Army, during the governorship of Aurangzeb, over Multan. Later, pardoned, he came back to establish his *Jokhia* tribe in the Malir Valley.

Tutai Chaukandi, the Chaukandi of Malik Tuta, is generally believed to have been constructed in the same time span as was the one constructed over Jam Mureed bin Haji. At least the Jokhias believe as such. But the Kalmatis have a clear indication in one of the incidence that it was Malik Zardar, who caused the Chaukandi to be erected over Tuta's grave. According to the tradition, Malik Zardar, in response to a sarcastic remark, vowed to construct a stone-carved grave along with the Chaukandi over his uncle. This makes it clear that the Tuta Chaukandi is at least fifty years earlier than the one at *Chaukandi* graveyard. Similar structures are found at *Mandiari* and *Tonda*, but are, unfortunately in ruins. A closer look at these may reveal some useful information.

The mode of construction of these Chaukandi is visibly the same; set over a square platform, pillars positioned in circle proudly carry somewhat conical dome.

Before descending to the coastal areas of Karachi and Thatta, the pastoralists were more at peace with the landscape in *Kohistan* of Thatta, which has many graveyards, showing crude period graves. Some of these even show specimen from the Summa period. It is clear that besides *Maheer*, the *Kohistan* of Thatta district, too, afforded the grazing fields to the early tribal migrants. Much later, these areas came under Jokhias. The graveyards of *Mall Muhari*, *Ran Paitani*, *Bashar*, and at *Seandh Jabal* are just a few examples of earlier structures.

Dars Varyo and *Paleejani* afford us a few examples of early period sarcophagus graves, indicating that the early inhabitation of the nomadic tribes extended up to the right bank of the Indus.

However, the graveyard of *Bala* possesses the early low-lying grave in all its variations, so is the case with the *crude* graves. The cutarch grave, too, has seen almost all its formations.

Crude graves in *Taung*, with more decorations hold the remains of Jam Aari Bado, and it can be termed as belonging to the later period than those at *Bala*.

The emergence of cutarch graves at *Bala*, *Omer Jowan* and *Bhawani* is a fact borne out by the comparable graves. Some proud structures over local chiefs offer detailed study in architecture and the history. For instance, one of the certain Jam Tamachi is a puzzle, the name occurs in the family tree of *Kaunrija* Jams, but their area was much farther in the north-east side, bedsides being a petty clan at that time. Curiously enough, he, too, couldn't possibly have been in this area, as the Bulfats were restricted in Jam Jamari's time at *Mahal Kohistan*. Sindh saw Jam Tamachi, a famous Summa ruler in all his glamour. Though his grave has not been placed to this day, he might not have preferred such wilderness, to be out of sight, after death. Most probably the Jam Tamachi, buried here was one of the chiefs of Ronjha tribe, who has once ruled over Lasbella, as the time period corresponds well with the developing structure.



The grave of Jam Tamachi in Omer Jowan graveyard,
is he a Ronjha, Bharch, Summa or Bulfat Chief?

one of the *Radho* Malik descendent of the victim of the epidemic, who married from the Bulfats, had sway over the area. His descendants later left the area and went to live in *Baran*. *Hinidan* has the *classical* and *late classical* graves. Subsequent Transit period structures are totally missing. An indication of the abrupt cessation of the governing influence, which earlier had caused that graveyard into being.

Pir Mangho is the graveyard of that period. It bears inscriptions giving dates. The structures, too, correspond well to the dates. Bulfat notables are buried here. It is interesting phase of local history, when we find all three major tribes along with the Lashari concentrating in the valleys of Hub, Malir and Gadap, an indication of a spell of peaceful coexistence, when the resistance to the later Mughals was a popular war cry. We know for sure that this tribal concentration did prompt Kalhoras, who took over from Mughals, to launch a series of intrigues. Kalhoras were successful in luring away Pahar Khan, and used him to break the short-lived tribal unity. Later, Bajar Jokhio also was launched by the Kalhoras to act as their henchman.

The graveyard at Kato Brohi village is of somewhat earlier phase. It has beautiful common chamber *late classical* graves. The carving show sure hand and the distribution of the decorative patterns suggest Baluch preferences. The common chamber graves are perfectly placed over double platforms.

Phore was one time a flourishing centre of Kalmatis. Many *Mohammadani Radha* interned at the *Baloch Tombs* and had their headquarters at Phore. Few of the *Angaria Radha* notables are buried at Phore. It is of late classical phase, showing common chambers graves. Unfortunately, the erosion has rendered the inscription unreadable and the deteriorated condition of the

graveyard has left very little chance of study that may help to solve a few riddles in the intertribal relationships.

The representative specimen of the late classical phase could be seen at *Pir Mazno* graveyard. The inferior structures of this phase, however, can be observed at *Raj Malik* and *Shah Hussain*. These

The hunting scene depicted on a grave in *Raj Malik*



The *Baluch Tombs* graveyard was developed by those who were roaming in *Maheer* area. It came into existence when the earlier non-regular graves, scattered in that area attained uniformity of design. This acquisition of uniform features initiated the artisan in an art form which went on to develop greatly.

Later, the Kalmati Maliks while expanding their influence shifted their seat of power to this area and were buried here. This fact must have ushered in the need of grandeur to be depicted in stone. The graveyard shows its emergence; the structure acquired chambers and was enriched with exquisite carving, perfectly rendered.

The neighbouring *Chaukandi* graveyard seems to have followed the mature structure; there is hardly any evidence to suggest that the formative period practice was ever carried over in this graveyard. The *crude* graves are abruptly replaced with the *mature classical* structures. Very few intervening cut arch and *early classical* graves could be found. The late classical and early *Transit* periods is richly represented here. Both these graveyards were enriched greatly during *classical* and *late classical* periods as is said, due to rivalry between Kalmati and Jokhia tribes.

The graveyard at Gadani (*Tonda*, near Wandera Wali Mohammad village) is reflective of the achievements of the master craftsman of the mature classical age.

On the other hand, the graveyard of *Taung*, placed far away from these villages, at the centre of *Kohistan*, too, received utmost attention of the sponsoring Bulfats, which caused the structures of tremendous range and variety, but within the accepted limits of classical form. The decorative element, however, has a variation in patterns that could be labelled as efforts at distinct identification.

In *Baluch Tombs*, classical and common chamber graves have many Kalmati Maliks buried underneath. Minimum variation in the design indicates towards possibility of construction of these graves within a limited span of time. The archaeological evidence is credited with a tradition that tells about the outbreak of an epidemic in the area, which claimed several lives. The similar construction of these graves denotes nearness in time. As the story goes, due to the then epidemic "Small Pox", Maliks also died one after the other; popular imagination has correlated that incident with the curse of a holy man, who was denied of a favour.

The graveyard at *Hinidan*, a bordering area of Bulfats of Sindh, has a composition of graves that supports the popular version of local history.

This area was under *Naumaria/Bulfats* of *Mahal Kohistan*, who left the area to a pious man. There is a similar claim, which tells about

Similarly, the graves of *Nathalo* and *Tagio*, both the uncles of Jam Bajar Jokhio, under two separate *Chaukandis*, reportedly inspired jealousy of adversary tribesmen, who came and fired rifle-shots at

the domes, the damage could be observed even today. Another transit grave of certain Yaqoob Zangi is dated 1196 H. the grave of the Bajar, son of Jam Mureed Ali, too, is of simple transit category.

Shah Hussain graveyard has late classical and transit period graves. The carving suggests their belonging to non-Balochi population.

However, the inscription indicates a few persons of Shata, a local Sindhi caste, are also buried there.

The grave of Hassan Rind of *Sharafi* is an interesting piece, as it indicates clearly the time period of its execution. The descendants of Hassan are living and possess the family chart (See chart No. D2).

The later Malik of *Babrani* clan found their last destination at *Raj Malik*. It is in the *late classical* grave we find Malik Changay Khan buried. Later Malik have transit period graves.

Jungshahi has abundance of late classical graves. Hence we can feel the deviation from set standards, in both the late classical and transit

period structures.

The graveyard is rich with unconventional experiments and show extraordinary efforts taken to decorate the structures. This was primarily due to emergence of a Jokhio clan, who was settled around this town (See chart No. B4). These structures are largely inscribed, thus, facilitate the analytical probe.

The picturesque settling at *Tak Makan* renders grandeur to the big stone carved complex of *Pallarisi*. It has all three platforms paved with the balustrades. The platforms walls boast plenty of decorative

motifs. The variety is indicator of the indulgence of the sponsors. The commission



Erection of a grave over fallen heroes was an event to rejoice. The completion of the grave of Kiko was celebrated with release of slaves. The inscription on the grave of Kiko testifies to the event, *Raj Malik*



Chaukandi at *Pir Patho* graveyard

are rich in portrayal of life; riders attended by their *Saees*, some of these are followed by veiling women and children. Others show men busy in their cherished pastime. Some of the portrayals are meant to show the prosperity of the buried person, by depicting his livestock holdings. This interesting phenomenon is observed at another graveyard, which is opposite *Meri* in the Ranikot Fort.

Late classical graves at *Hassan Serhani*, Hub area, present some good carvings of the jewellery of the women. Same is the case with the graves in *Chaukandi* graveyard. This tradition continued well into the transit phase. Jam's graveyard at Bela boasts fine carving in this regard. The graves at Raj Malik also are rich in depicting jewellery.

Gandapay, the hero of cattle raids is buried under a late classical structure, in *Baluch Tombs*. His son lies buried in *Raj Malik*, the graveyard famous as '*Kadman waro*', the one with the holy foot mark', under a transit period grave; march of time is reflected through the funeral structures.

The great number of transit period graves are identified with the persons buried; this is mainly due to the nearness of the events, which are still fresh in the minds of the folks.

Raj Malik has majority of the Kalmatis killed during the ambush, where Raja Arjun was murdered by the Bajar Jokhio; and those who were killed in the unannounced attack on the mourners at *Kadman waro* by Jokhias under Chaker; and also those who died in the second battler of Makli.

Many of the graves have the inscriptions, giving names, thus rendering the identification easy.

Such structures in *Chaukandi* graveyard, too, have the names inscribed. Halo bin Kapat has the descendants living at a nearby village. Same is the case with Pir Parhar (*See the genealogical charts No. D1 & D3*).



the inscription
on the grave of
Mando son of
Gandapay, Raj
Malik



The inscription on
the grave of
Gandapay, the
brave, Baluch
Tombs

leader of Kalmatis at the second battle of Makli, buried under a late transit period grave.

Mitho and Harho along with Mugar Jokhio died a death of heroes, while fighting with the cattle raiders. All three are buried at Raj Malik. The transit period grave of Mitho depicts the hero mounted on his charger, returning with the vanquished animals.

Sondha, too, is the graveyard with lot of late classical and transit period graves. But both these period are least represented in the tribal traditions with regard to this graveyard. The Lashari, however, are said to have been buried during this phase. The victims of Arghun-Lashari clash in an earlier encounter, too, were buried here. But those graves have no stone carved structures.

The developments taking place within Kalmati tribe, during Malik Zardar's period, brought about clash of interests between the *Mohammadani Radha* Malik, positioned at Aghore and emerging *Babranis* at Sakro. The Mughal patronage had already made Sakro based faction more powerful – thus they went defiant.

This situation weakened the centre and caused the disintegration of the tribe. *Babranis* had already taken up the title *Malik*, that step was resented by many, including *Babrani* clan's people. A new wave of migration rose among those living in between Hub and Malir; they retraced their steps back to Mekran. This and subsequent such waves are responsible for the emergence of stone-carved graves at Gwader, Pasni and Ormara. Jewani, too, later joined the prestigious list of places proudly possessing these unique structures.

Late Classical specimen along with the transit graves, varying in some degrees, is an interesting study. Once out of the native grounds, how this structure acquired shapes not in line with the general trend back at home.

The list of graveyards is prepared which indicates its popular name, along with the geographical location. The list is divided district-wise to further make it easier to locate the site. It is not at all exhaustive, only those graveyards are included which may be of some significance, with regard either to help providing the understanding of the development in structure, or due to their relationship with known characters of tribal traditions. Unidentified, isolated graves and smaller clusters are not listed, for obvious reasons of those being not worth taking all the trouble as the sites are difficult to have an access to. Moreover, these graveyards also promise no additional information to the students of the tribal history and the funeral architecture. ■

must have caused an extended stay for the guild of the *Sangtarash*. They are said to have consumed eight mounds of pepper during the work.

Monder Khan Pallari was killed by a Brohi robber; his descendants are living in the area. The transit period graves about in this graveyard, along with a few late classical structures.

Malik Pahar Khan is the only known Bulfat Malik to have been buried in Bela area, at *Pir Tearo*. Earlier Maliks are buried in Kohistan. The Bulfats, after their unceremonious departure from Lasbella, buried their Maliks at Kotri.

The graveyard has the transit period graves, showing tasteful carvings of classical patterns, over the transformed structures.

Pir Lakho, *Dars Varyo* and *Paleejani* graveyards also have a good number of transit period graves. These are curious examples of non-Baloch decorative carving, and the difference in execution is very much clear.

Of the same period, the graveyards at *Pathai ji Bedi*, near Gharo, is an amalgamation of Baluch convention with the contemporary currents.

Aungar has the persons killed at the battler for Siri Jagir buried, so are the graves at *Saeedpur*. The Jat and Jakhras are also

buried at these two graveyards; they were killed during the encounter with Jokhias.

Makli, a great necropolis, possess structures representing multi-cultural influences of various phases

of history. It also has the transit period graves, belonging to Jokhias as well as Kalmatis. Prominent among them are Karimdad, ex-Jam of Jokhias, buried under an early transit grave, and Mir Mazar, the



Wago son of Nathalo the master craftsman left his name on the Balustrade of Mondar Pallari, *Tak Makan*



The scene of successful hero returning with vanquished camels



The grave of Allah Rakhi, daughter of Zangi son of Yaqoob, gives the date. The year 1196 AH is inscribed in an interesting way, showing the lower level of education among artisans as well as their patrons. Chaukandi



The carved grave in Gwader district assumed many curious shapes. Pasni

Jungshahi Graveyard outside town of Jungshahi.

Jokhia Graveyard in Jungshahi Town.

Mall Muhari Graveyard near Mall Muhari Village, Taluka Jungshahi.

Barad Talau Graves on way to Mall Muhari, Taluka Jungshahi.

Bashar's Graveyard, north-west of village Haji Sanjar Halani, on western bank of stream Ran Paitani, Taluka Jungshahi.

Karro Kalmati's Graveyard, adjacent to Malik Khan Zangiani village, three miles west of Ran Paitani Railway Station.

Naen Nihan's Graves, three miles north of Bashar's graves on the bank of Naen (stream) Nihan, Taluka Jungshahi.

Bingi Khan Lashari's Graveyard, one mile further north on the same hill.

Gaz Makan, near Kalo Kohar on south of it, Taluka Jungshahi.

Near Seandh Jabal, besides Lonikot near crossing of Baran River and Super Highway.

LASBELLA

Pirkas on Hub-Pirkas Road, about 8 miles from Hub.

Jerar Pir, near Bager Dhoru about 10 miles from Hub.

Tonda Graveyard, village Wali Mohammad Bizenjo, Mauza South Mawali, Tehsil Hub.

Bhawani Graveyard, Deh Pathara, Tehsil Hub.

Feroz Kaki opposite Bhawani graveyard, Hub.

Ibrahim Antrianwaro near Bhawani besides RCD Highway, Tehsil Hub.

Pir Hassan, Graveyard of Pir Hassan Sirhani, Pinnyo Makan, Hub.

Pir Ibrahim's Graveyard near confluence of River Hub with sea, Deh Hub Kund, Tehsil Hub.

Omer Jowan, Deh Hub Kund.

Miran Pir, Muza Winder, two miles east of RCD Highway, Tehsil Sonmiani.

Serando, Winder Cross (RCD Highway) near Khurkairo, Tehsil Sonmiani.

Sanger near Sasi Punhoo's tomb, south of Aminani Graveyard, Tehsil Sonmiani.

Pir Adam, Pir Adam's graveyard, Mouza Pir Adam, Tehsil Sonmiani.

Pir Dod, Mouza Chhabaji Tehsil Sonmiani.

Four Miles east of RCD Highway milestone 70, just short of Uthal, Mouza Chakchor.

Shaikh Salih Sawai, near RCD Highway 7 miles short of Uthal Town.

On the bank of stream Chamasro in Deh Chamasro, Tehsil Uthal, in Mouza Bohar, Tehsil Uthal.

Sites of Stone-carved Graves

DISTRICT THATTA

- Marri Morirro*, Deh Kheerani, Taluka Mirpur Sakro.
Khatikun, Deh Kheerani, Taluka Mirpur Sakro.
Phulan wari near Mohammadi Salt Works, Deh Kheerani.
Pir Patho, the graveyard of Jamil Girnari on the hillock.
Pir Patho, the Kalmati graveyard at the foot of the same hill.
Juna Shah Bunder, Taluka Mirpur Sakro.
Darya Pir, Deh Kheerani, Taluka Mirpur Sakro.
Arrar Butthi (Hillock) graves, on eastern side of Dhabeji Railway Station.
Raj Malik graveyard (Kadmanwaro), Deh Raj Malik, Mirpur Sakro.
Hadan wariyoon, Deh Makhyaro, Mirpur Sakro.
Mubarak Wariyoon, near Shah Karim's tomb, Deh Ganki, Mirpur Sakro.
Qazi Ismaeel's Graveyard near Barosar Colony, Deh Chhachh Saherko, Mirpur Sakro.
Pathi Wari Bedi, Deh Khareseer near Gharo Mirpur Sakro.
Dars Varyo Graveyard near Haleji Lake, Mirpur Sakro.
Jamriko Kas Graveyard, 4miles west of Dars Varyo.
Samer Khand Pir near Ratokot, Mirpur Sakro.
Shaikh Aali's Graveyard, Makli Necropolis.
Turkhan Graveyard, Makli Necropolis.
Mir Mazar's Graveyard, Makli Necropolis.
Kadam Mubarak, Makli Necropolis.
Shah Hussain's graveyard, near Makli.
Sondha Graveyard, on National Highway, about 35kms from Thatta
Shah Kapur Graveyard near the village of same name, on the right bank of Shah Waah, Sujawal Subdivision.
Abnan Shah's graveyard, 20 miles South-west of Sujawal Town on the way to Shah Bundar.
Haji Turabi's Graveyard, Gujo.
Jokhia Graveyard, adjacent to Haji Turabi, Gujo.
Tharri Hill near Gujo.
Hillaya near Keenjhar Lake, in between Sondha and Chilya, besides National Highway on a hillock.
Andhanwari besides National Highway on a hillock near Keenjher.
Pir Lakho Graveyard, on National Highway between Thatta and Jheruck.
Oongar near Jheruck on National Highway.

Taung, Deh Taung, Taluka Thano Bula Khan.

Bashi's Graveyard, near Taung village.

Halarki Lak (Pass graves, 5 miles west of Mohammad Khan Brahamani village.

On the bank of Naen Sann, near Sann Gate, Ranikot Fort.

Opposite Meeri Fortress, Ranikot Fort.

Besides Mohan Dhoro, inside Ranikot Fort.

Shah Ovais Karni, on main Jamshoro-Sehwan Road, near Manjhand.

Ghazi Khan's Graveyard, Lakki Shah Saddar.

Charan's graveyard, Laki Shah Saddar.

Sehwan Graveyard, outside Sehwan Town.

Malik's graveyard, Kotri Town.

Chaukandi Jam Chhata, on Indus Highway, between Amri and Sann.

DADU

Rumi graves, near Wahi Pandhi, Taluka Johi.

Near Mian Yar Mohammad's Mausoleum, Khudabad I.

Mian Naseer Mohammad, Taluka Khairpur Nathan Shah.

GWADER

Graveyard near town of Ormara.

Dahgan, near Pasni Town.

Kuhna, old burial ground, besides Pasni Town.

Salunk Banwer, near Gwader Town.

Kohsar near Jevani, District Gwader.

Panwan Graveyard, near Jevani, District Gwader.

HYDERABAD

Graves of Lekhi etc, Tomb compound of Mian Ghulam Shah, Hyderabad City.

Khudabad Salis, near Hala Town, Hyderabad.

Bhurgri Graveyard, Tando Jehan Khan, six miles from Hyderabad.

Sangrani Graveyard on Matli-Tando Ghulam Ali Road, about 2km south of Tharri village.

MIRPUR KHAS

Chitori near Mirpur Khas.

SANGHAR

Shahpur Chaker near Nawabshah City.

Aghore, besides the Coast Guards Camp on the hill overlooking remains of Malik Beo's fortress.

Aghore, on the bank of Hingol River, near Coast Guards Camp.

Phore on Liari-Ormara Road about forty miles off Liari, near Coast Guards camp.

Bela Town Graveyard.

Pir Tearo, short of Bela Town, on RCD Highway

Jam Ari, Jam's graveyard outside Bela Town..

Gunder Tombs, five miles north of Dingha village, on the Hub-Hinidan Road.

Hinidan Graveyard, near the village of same name on Hub-Dureji Road.

Mir Dura's Graveyard, outside town of Dureji.

KARACHI

West of Landhi Prison on National Highway, District Malir.

Damloti Graves on National-Super Highway Link Road, besides Malir River, District Malir.

Baloch Tombs, on the bank of Thado Stream near Memon Goth.

Chaukandi Graveyard, on National Highway, short of Razzaqabad.

Sazain Chaukandi or *Keryan Wari Korh*, near Tomb of Syed Haji Pir, Landhi, on National Highway.

Near Food Godown Pipri, Deh Joreji, Malir.

Pir Mazno, about two miles west of Ghaghar level crossing Malir.

Shah Hassan Graveyard, between Pipri and Vatiji near Creek, near Pakland Cement Factory, on the road going north, at intersection with rain stream, Malir.

Near Pakistan Machine Tool Factory, Landhi.

Inside *Pakistan Steel Mills*, District Malir.

In Malir Cantonment, Malir.

Sharafi Graveyard, near Sharafi Village, District Malir.

Mokhi Matara on Narathar Hills, Gadap.

Pir Mangho, besides shrine of Pir Mangho, District West.

Baker Graveyard near Kathore, Tehsil Gadap.

Gorban near Kathore, District West.

Tak Makan, Landhi Sarkari, District West.

Village Kato (Mohammad Hasni) Brohi, Deh Ghundapass.

Sonlaki, on the road from Hawk's Bay to Hub.

Natha Khan's grave besides Jamia Milia College Malir.

JAMSHORO

Faqir Mohammad Ali Burfat, near Thana Arab Khan, on western bank of Baran River.

The sources of this information are diverse. Almost all major families have been consulted, as far as Kalmatis are concerned. It is interesting to see that a few clans have completed record of descent going back to the one, after him, the scion is named. *Mohammadanis*, *Angaria* and *Babrani* fall in that category.

Few families of Hadia settled in Malir and Makran do have descendants of Haday son of Haut Khan son of Nauz Bandak. However, Hadia in Thatta district have incomplete record.

Bhava, *Gabols* and *Baghiars* have unsatisfactory record. The *Bhava* claim Giander to be their forefather. But they are not able to link present generations to Giander, as there exist a few generations gap, at the apex.

Rajeeras claim descent from Malik Haji son of Malik Feroz son of Malik Haji, and they, too, miss the link.

Baghiars, though very knowledgeable about the tribal traditions seem to have some mistakes incorporated in their genealogical charts. They are sure to descent from certain Baloch Khan, but his placement according to them does not match the normal count, up to the present generation.

There is, however, one *Mir Baloch*, great grandfather of Mir Jalal Khan, who might had been mixed up. However, the matter is not that simple and requires more corroborating evidence for the claims made.

The *Pirdadzai* scion trace their descent to Pirdad, some seven generations back, but are not aware of further connections of their forefathers.

Murghars, settled presently in Malir have some record. The *Jamari*, *Zangani*, *Gorai*, *Ahmadani*, *Dabai Jat*, etc., are those clans who cannot connect their later generations with earlier tribal stalwarts. They are, nevertheless, clear about their distinctive identification.

The *Radha Jat* and *Radha Bandicha* have interesting claims and are in possession of family tress which connect them to the *Mohammadani* Maliks.

Apart from the tribal memory, we are in possession of the manuscript from the early days of this century, recording genealogical tables of many families, settled in Lasbella and Karachi.

These stand verified by the table constructed through 'memory' of the concerned families. However, possibility of the influence of each source over the other can't be ruled out.

The Genealogical Record

The family sources narrate their line of descent, going back to several generations, that sometimes sound quite unbelievable, but the observance of meticulous care with which the elders make their children memorise family trees, explains this phenomenon.

The tribal pride is the major force behind it. One can always expect to hear, while sitting among the assembly of these tribesmen, references to someone's mixed blood, an enough cause for looking down on him, and, maybe, a reason for his base performance in some famous event.

Such explicit expressions in the past have caused tragedies, but the tribal pride for pure blood seems to have been affected least by such happenings. Nor any amount of logic could convince them of the unrequired emphasis on this unreasonable assertion. Just to illustrate this element, one instance is given here.

Kalmati elders gathered to decide whether to accept traditional apology rendered by the Jokhia tribe for the aggression shown by them at Raj Malik, in which several Kalmatis and Lasharis were killed. Mir Mazar, son of Malik Baber, who was from the mother not belonging to the Kalmati tribe, was presiding over the assembly. He made a very good case for peace, soliciting exercise of forbearance and magnanimity. His forceful argument was very well received, the assembly seemed convinced and was about to endorse his proposition. At that moment, one of the relatives of the persons killed in last encounter made a subtle reference that seemed to point out to the fact that the mother of Mir Mazar, a non-Kalmati, being the reason for the Mir to shy away from the impending action. This made the emotions soar high. Though each one knew the action aspirant's credentials, but since he had touched a valid point. The assembly swayed away from the peace proposal and the august Mir, annoyed greatly, had to announce refusal to the apology and had to consent for the battle. Nevertheless, he rightly predicted that the person posing brace will himself run away from battlefield and is causing unnecessary bloodshed.

This and so many similar events make it evident that the tribesmen give such things importance, which, to us, seem larger than reality.

The preservation of some of the traditions and genealogical trees by Kalmatis and Jokhias have helped in arriving at some useful conclusions.

The Portuguese activities continued in the Gulf well into the seventeenth century, a bit curtailed, though, due to emergence of opposition by Safavid and coming of Dutch.

The direct descendants of Mir Hamal remained at Tez, this is not reflected in the family memory here.

We have an entry in the manuscript of Mula Dost Muhammad, about the direct line. But there seems to be some mistake in recording as each name reflected here forms the generation, whereas, the male offspring of each generation might have been given. Due to that mix-up that line is lengthy beyond reason. As we have the descendants of the brothers and cousins of Bingo, the grandfather of Mir Hamal, that forms the yardstick. In fact, the family line of Mir Hamal is exaggerated as it counts at least five generations, which makes it highly improbable.

These and similar other observations suggest that the manuscript of Mula Dost Mohammad was copied down from some earlier written source, whereas, the Moulvi compiled his charts with care to veracity of these compilations.

Both these charts are taken in high esteem by the scholars/students of Kalmati history. Besides these, another compilation is in circulation. It is associated with the name of Late Haji Shah Ali, which incidentally was never compiled by him.

Though Haji Shah Ali had a very good knowledge of the tribal traditions and also had immense memory of decent of many families, he never sat down to let that information be recorded.

The two charts of Mula Dost Mohammad and Moulvi Abdul Kadir, along with information gathered from many elders of Kalmatis provide us with the required information. This information was verified by cross checking with tribal traditions. It was also complimented by the archaeological evidence. Having resources to these multiple recourse present study was greatly facilitated, as it made research on tribal/local history a possibility.

During the extensive enquiries late Pir Mohammad son of Moulvi Abdul Kadir was of great help. His first-hand knowledge and records of his family proved an asset in understanding and verifying the information. Besides he had a close association with the Late Haji Shah Ali of Sharafi village.

Late Hamza Khan Kalmati belonged to *Bahot* sub-tribe. His interest in the tribal history was immense. He had worked hard and compiled the genealogical chart of families living in District Thatta, especially, Sakro area. He worked as official assignee of Kalmati Malik and was entrusted by *Baghiars* to sort out property matter of

The collected information shows an awful uniformity, however, small errors were noted which, at times, stood corrected by an elder. These 'memory slips' can't be given an undue emphasis.

The manuscript of Mula Dost Mohammad, on scrutiny showed that it must have been copied from an earlier manuscript which had information up to the eighth decade of last century. The Mula's copy have majority of entries updated, till the first half of this century.

The manuscript of Moulvi Abdul Kadir seems to have compiled some sixty years ago. Its source is not known, maybe, it was compiled in consultation with knowledgeable elders.

The family tree of Sardar Mahdi Khan, the descendent of legendary Mir Hamal, is given in the Mula's manuscript, whereas it is not found in Moulvi Abdul Kadir's compilation. The legendary Mir Hamal Jeand is clearly placed in the genealogical record of Kalmatis. He also figured prominent in the poetry of the Balochi language. His chivalry prompted literary creations of considerable merit.

He boldly withstood the Portuguese affront and did not lose his composure even against all odds. His personality has inspired some interesting accounts looming high on the borders of history and legends. He was captured by the Portuguese and later was killed in captivity, because of his uncompromising and daring attitude.

The literary critics, on account of his maritime frame of reference, have placed him in the volatile sixteenth century. The Portuguese supremacy in the Indian Ocean and their attacks on harbour towns/cities of India had influenced this wide held opinion. However, the family record suggests that Mir Hamal must had faced his adversaries not before second decade of the seventeenth century.

The sources placed in Iranian Balochistan have poetical traditions of some consequences preserved with them. Those are not only clear about the incident but also are sure of locations involved.

Mir Hamal left port of Tez and was lost in the storm for six days; on the seventh day, the storm subsided and they sighted land, somewhere near Muscat. The area was under the Portuguese who came all out against him. Mir Hamal fought valiantly but his sword and axe, one after the other were broken. He was captured. This tradition puts this incident in the earlier part of the seventeenth century. That corroborates well with the information coming down to us through genealogical records.

Though it is likely that the source itself has never been very well researched at the time of recording (for that matter, refer to the 'Tuhfatul Karam' by Ali Sher Qani Thattvi also).

Interestingly, the families do remember the line of descent right upwards from Jokhio to Jadam in case of Jokhias (Refer to Table No. B-5), and from Ari Bado to Jadam (Refer to Table No. C-2), in case of Bulfats, but while coming down from Jokhio or from Ari Bado to present day, they make gross mistakes. Normally, three to four generations are left out in between.

This single fact is enough to support the view taken earlier. It is, however, sufficient to give an understanding of the times, in cross checking the evolution in the form and design of the stone carved graves of this area.

Various local histories have given the genealogical account of the Summa tribes, with varying theories about their origin. One claiming them to be a tribe of Arab origin, another has brought other version to fit in, with corresponding resemblance of their chief's title Jam with Jamshed of Ancient Persian Empire.

Anyhow, both the accounts have the same names when they have descended a couple of generations. Thankfully, all accounts agree on Jam Jadam to be the progenitor of all Summa tribes, presently settled in Sindh and Cutch.

Coming from Jam Jadam, the Burfats branch off with the Jam Pali son of Jam Raidhan. Similarly, the Summa part company from Jokhias after eight generations subsequent to the Burfats. That explains why some earlier historians mixed up Burfats or Nuhmardis with Baloch Tribes. Besides this debate over the origin of tribes, what concerns us here is the subsequent generations, coming after Jam Aari Bado, in case of the Burfats and, generations following Jam Miran in case of Jokhias. As these are the characters identified with the stone carved graves, scattered in the area of our study.

In case of Kalmatis, they have also accounts believing themselves to have descended from Humza, uncle of the Holy Prophet. But majority of the Baloch seems to have discarded that theory; however, their genealogical lineage goes back to one Ilmish Rumi, who left Haleb (Aleppo), and caused mass migration towards east. (Refer Lala Haturam, *Tarikh-e-Balochistan*.)

Besides this, every Baloch branch traces its affinity to Mir Jalal Khan, who is believed to have lived in Iranian Balochistan between 10th and 13th century.

that particular scion. His enthusiasm sometimes was uncontainable, thus, his compilations at times are over simplified, and these must be used with reservations.

Late Haji Ibrahim of Dhabeji had a good understanding of history and traditions of his tribe, that is, Kalmatis. He remained closely associated with this work and always was found to be very well provided with relevant information. He did point out certain anomalies in the record of Basbrasies, where it was found there were certain omissions, while those names, we found inscribed in the Baloch Tombs in relevant context.

The Jokhias and Bulfats in comparison are much less meticulous in preserving their ancestral lineage. Even the chief families have many flaws in their records. Ordinary folks can't even recall more than five generations.

The Jokhia claim their native place to be in present Benazirabad District. *Jokhio*, the progenitor of the tribe, left Nawabshah and wandered in the Khirthar/Kohistan areas. He, however, returned to his native village and died of long years.

To date, the Jokhias normally take their young children to the grave of *Jokhio* for their first haircut. The Jokhia tribe flourished in vicinity of Shah Bilwal at *Kingoray* and later spread in Kohistan and Malir. Their genealogical tree goes back to certain Jam Jadam, but they credit *Jokhio* in that lineage to be their forefather (*Jokhio*, Master Mohammad Hassan, *Jokhia History*, Mss in possession of the Present Author)

The Bulfats claim their descent from Abdul Fatah, who, according to them, came to Sindh. Though certain of their genealogical tree, they are not sure if they belong to ancient mid-eastern stock or their affinity to local Rajput tribe. Like Jokhias, they claim their descent from Jadam [See the Table No. C-....].

Jam Jadam is also acclaimed as the great ancestor of all Sammeja tribes, inhabiting Sindh and Cutch.

The Bulfats/Burfats have dwelt in Sindh Kohistan, but they are so often found indulging in the affairs of Balochistan side of Khirthar; that's why, they were dubbed as Baloch by Mughal Chroniclers and some earlier European observers.

The Jokhias and Bulfats being local have a strong tradition about their belonging to one and the same progenitor. Early local histories have preserved that tradition. It is possible that the major written sources have affected memory of major families to some extent and have rendered a sort of uniformity to the narration of descent, throughout Sindh.

2007.10.10

2007

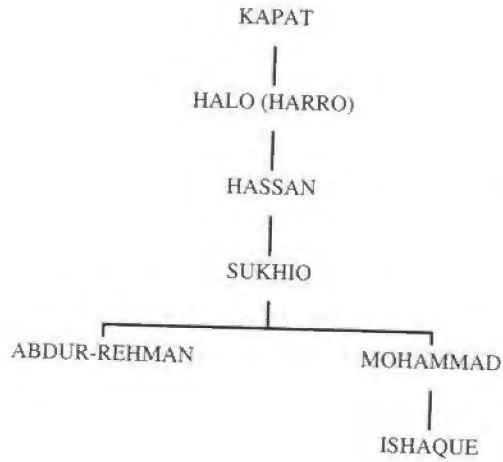
2007

The Rind, Lashari, Hoat, et cetera, while tracing their connections to Mir Jalal Khan, do sometimes err, as we find difference of a couple of generations among these branches (See Table No. A1).

As earlier discussed, it is immaterial for the present study to ponder over so early a stage of the history of these tribes, while the structures, with which we are concerned here, are not of that antiquity.

The earlier names which so often come to our attention through tribal tradition and the names inscribed on the stone carved graves do not go beyond Mehran, Nauz Bandak, Giandar, etc.; thus, we may better restrict emphasis on the questions arising in genealogical order at the very early stage. ■

TABLE NO. D 3



One of the descendents of Halo bin Kapat, Mr. Ishaque is presently working in a senior position in Karachi Development Authority. Halo lie buried under a transit period structure at *Chankandi, Malir*.

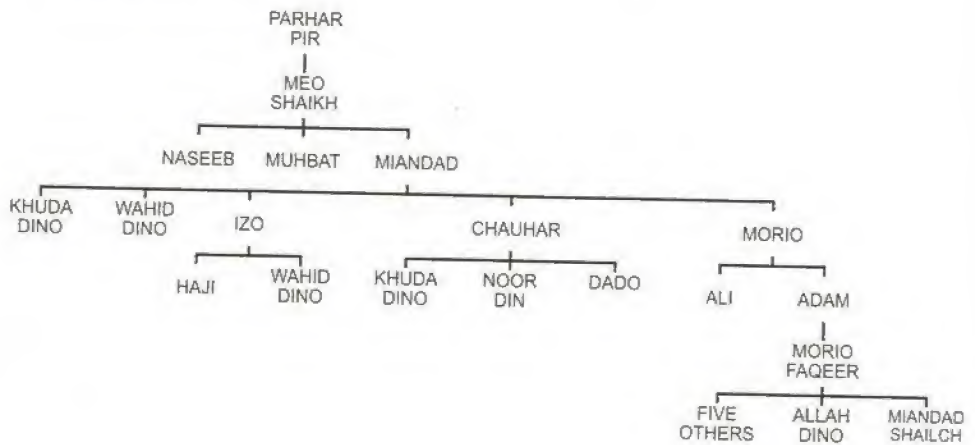


Grave of Hala bin Kapat, Chaukandi Graveyard

TABLES

- Table showing descendants of Haro bin Kapat (Table No. D3)
 Table concerning Hassan Rind (Table No. D2)
 Table showing descendants of Parhar Pir (Table No. D1)
 Summa genealogy, according to *Summats* (Table No. D2)
 Comparison of two accounts regarding descent of Jam Aari Bado
 (Table No. C1)
 Genealogical chart of Jam Aari Bado (Table No. C2)
 Comparison showing descent of various tribal chiefs from Mir Jala
 Khan (Table No. A1)
 Chart showing descent of *Babrani* Malik (Table No. A2)
 Table showing *Babranis* (Table No. A3)
 Chart showing descent of *Haday* or *Hadia* scion of Kalmatis (Table
 No. A4)
 Chart showing families of *Jamaris*, a sub division of *Hadia* (Table
 No. A5)
 Table showing *Murgh-gars* branch of Kalmatis (Table No. A6)
 Table of *Murgh-gars* (Table No. A7)
 Chart showing *Bhawa* lineage (Table No. A8)
 Genealogy of Summas according to Tuhfatul Kiram (Table No. B1)
 The descent of Jokhia (Table No. B3)
 Family record of Jam of Jokhia (Table No. B4)
 Genealogical chart of Maliks of Bulfats (Table No. C3)
 Table showing *Mandanis* of *Gorai* scion of Kalmatis
 Table showing Mohammadani Maliks
 Pirdadzai
 Table showing Shaho, and his descents. He died in cattle raid at
 Hingol.

TABLE NO. D1

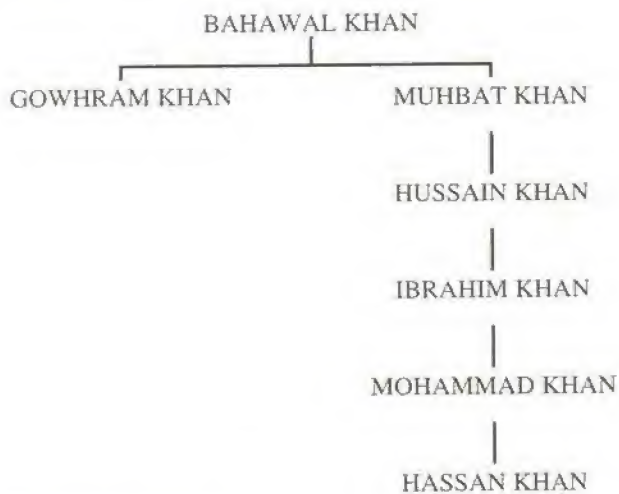


The descendents of Pir Parhar. Miandad Shaikh is present Mujawar (care taken) of the late Pir Parhar. The Pir is buried under a transit period grave in Chaukandi graveyard, Malir.



The grave of Pir Parhar in *Chaukandi* graveyard

Table NO. D 2



The genealogical chart showing Hassan Khan, who died issueless, and is buried in Sharafi Village, under a transit structure. The descendents of his brother Hussain Khan, son of Bahawal Khan presently reside in Gowhram Khan Manzil, Chawkiwari, Karachi



The grave of Hassan Rind, in Sharafi Village graveyard.



A clear indication of illiteracy among the carvers.
In some cases, the inscriptions are carved upside down.



The later transit period carvings
show a definite influence of
urban centres



The base of a pillar of Chaukandi showing part of
dedication inscription, which indicates the relation,
specially womenfolk, of the martyrs of Battle of Makli
erected the structure in order to absolve them
of their moral responsibility.
Mir Mazar's graveyard, Makli.



The headstone of the grave of
Malik Sobhan. It indicates that
his father was not himself a
Malik. Makhiaro

TABLE NO. B2

| | |
|----|-----------|
| | SAAM |
| 1 | JADAM |
| 2 | BHAGEERAT |
| 3 | AJIPAL |
| 4 | DASRAT |
| 5 | WAAM |
| 6 | LAVAKAS |
| 7 | NAUTIAR |
| 8 | NAUT |
| 9 | ODHAR |
| 10 | ODHO |
| 11 | LAKHIAR |
| 12 | LAKHO |
| 13 | UNAR |
| 14 | SUMMO |
| 15 | KAKO |
| 16 | RAIDHAN |
| 17 | SUMMO |

The Summa genealogical tree shows great uniformity when various sources are compared.
Qazi Mohammad Suleman Bhan 1985. Tharikh-e-Sameeja Bhan Publication, Badin P.I.

TABLE NO. C2

JAM JADO

JAM
HOTH

JAM EISEB LALA BURU CHAWRO PINAN SHORO

JAM
BURFAT

SHAHO HAMIRKO KARO DOHAR/
DIAN MOCHI JAM
HAMRAK

MANDHO
KHAN

SEVEN
OTHERS

JAM
MARZOOK

HASSAN

JAM
BADIN

NORO SENHOTO MANDRO SACHAN MOCHI JAM AARI
BADO

GENEALOGICAL CHART ACCORDING TO THE MAILKS OF BURFAT

TABLE NO. C 1

JAM JADO

| | | |
|-----|--------------------|---------------|
| | JADAM | JADAM |
| 1. | JAM SUMMA I | SUMMO |
| 2. | JAM JUDAR | JUDAR |
| 3. | JAM JARR | JADD |
| 4. | JAM NAUTIAR | NAUTIAR |
| 5. | JAM NUHRIO | NUHRIO |
| 6. | JAM ODHAR | ODHAR |
| 7. | JAM ODHO | ODHO |
| 8. | JAM LAKHIAR | LAKHIAR |
| 9. | JAM LAKHIAR | LAKHO |
| 10. | JAM SUMMA II | SUMMO |
| 11. | JAM KHAKHR (KAKO?) | KAKO |
| 12. | JAM RAIDHAN | RAIDHAN |
| 13. | JAM PALI | PALI |
| 14. | JAM SAND | SAND |
| 15. | JAM HALO | JAM HALO |
| | | JAM HOTHI |
| 16. | JAM HOTO II | /JAM CHUNRO |
| | | /HOTHI |
| 17. | JAM EISUB | JAM EISUB |
| 18. | JAM BURFAT | JAM BURFAT |
| 19. | JAM SAMRAK | JAM SAMRAK |
| 20. | JAM JAMROK | JAM JAMROK |
| 21. | JAM AARI BADO | JAM AARI BADO |

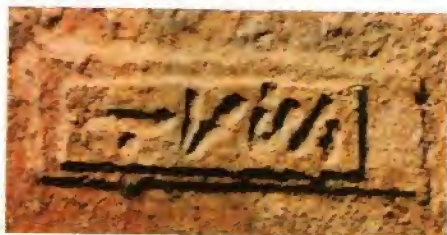
Two different accounts of Jam Aari Bado's lineage from Jam Jadam/Jado are prevalent in various sources. See the similarity.



[E]



[F]



[G]



[H]

Similarly the traditions told about Malik Tuta son of malik Ishaq, but there was no confirmation in genealogical records. The grave inscriptions confirmed this fact and also added two more names, Malik Nauz Bandak and Malik Radha as sons of malik Ishaq © and D).

Similarly the names of Malik Mureed and Malik Allana also came to light through inscriptions (E). Earlier to Radha son of Ishaq, there was no mention of Radho. One grave in Bala, gave the name Malik Ibrahim son of Radha, thus a tradition stood confirmed that the malik's came from the family of certain Radha.

In Babrani lineage names of malik Ibrahim son of Malik Suhrab didn't show in any account, but these names came to light with the inscription in Baloch Tombs (F).

An other inscription gives name of Baber as second son of Sohrab (G).

Quite interesting is a fact that the Mandanis attributed one son Baqar to Gandpay, the famous here of cattle raids. But two different graves, one in Baloch Tombs and other in Raj Malik gave names of Mando and Subha as sons of the Hero (H and J).



[A]



[B]



[C]



[D]

The family traditions are silent about the issueless elders, normally beyond four generations. It is understandable that when the descendents of one person cease, there is hardly any one to remember the name of such person, separated well in time. However certain persons escape such anonymity, only because of their involvement in any famous event, or their names are included in folk poetry.

It is a fact that many of Muhammadani Maliks of Kalmati tribe could not be found in genealogical accounts, same is true for Babranis as well.

Fortunately the names inscribed on graves are of much help in this regard for instance the name of Feroz son of Haji was casually mentioned once in the MS of Mula Dost Muhammad, and was not corroborated by any other account. The inscriptions found in the Baloch Tombs however gave required corroboration which not only confirmed that Feroz was son of Malik Haji, he became Malik himself and he did beget a son who again became Malik with the name of haji (A and B).

TABLE NO. 2 A

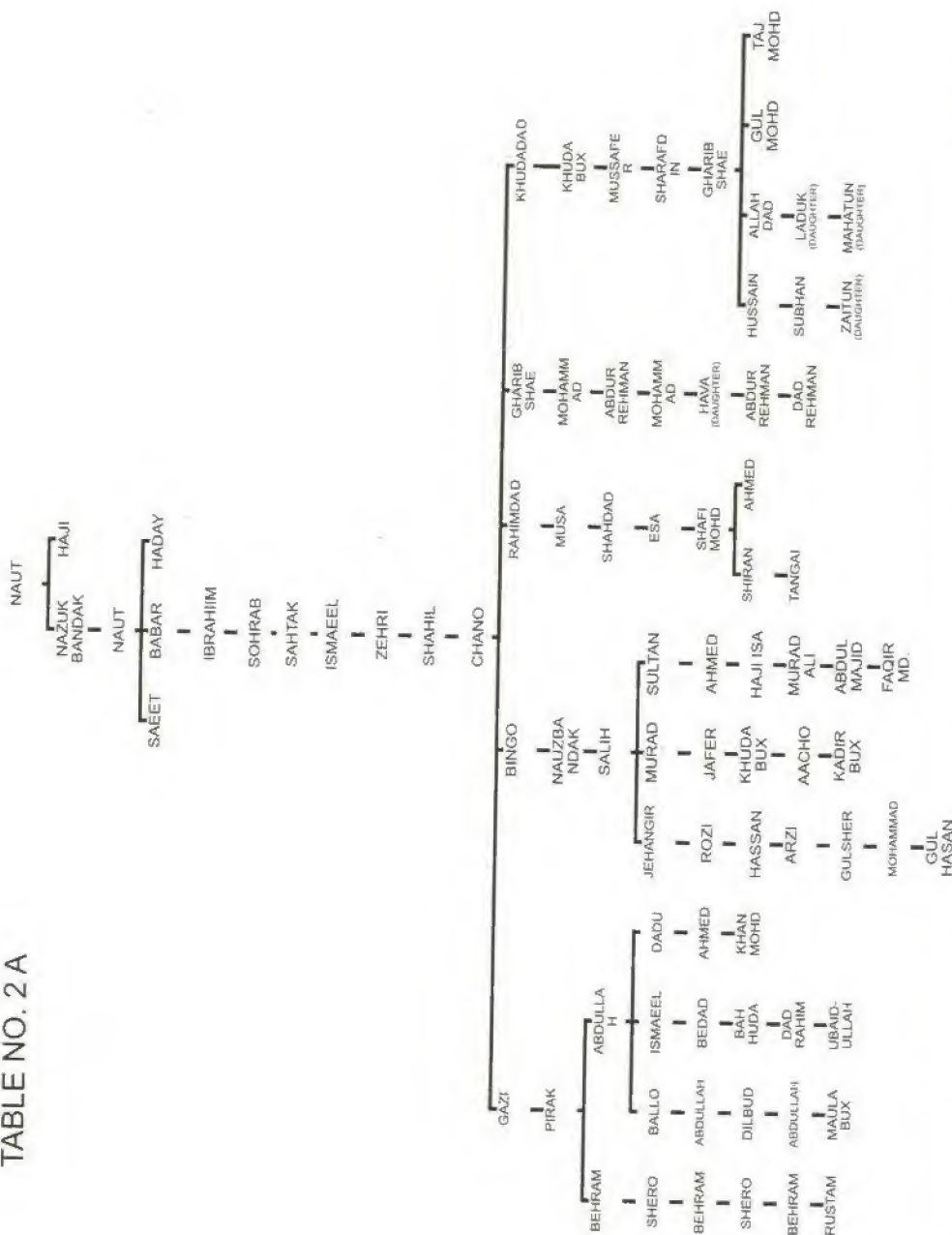


Chart showing Babranis according to the genealogical account given by Mulla Dost Mohammad and Moulvi Abdul Kadir. The Malik family is not mentioned in these accounts. However, they claim their lineage from Ibrahim son of Babar (Refer Table No. A 10)

TABLE NO. A 1

| MIR JALAL KHAN | | | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| LASHAR | LASHAR | HAUTAK KHAN | MIR RIND | RIND |
| ISMAEEL KHAN | ISMAEEL KHAN | BILAWAL KHAN | MIRD ABDULLAH KHAN | RAMZAN |
| MIR ABDULLAH | MIR ABDULLAH | KARAM ALI KHAN | MIR BHAHDAD | NASIRUDDIN |
| MIR NAUZ BANDAGH | MIR GOWHRAM | BAJAR | MIR SHIHAK | AHMED |
| MIR GOWHRAM | MIR RAMEN | MIR UMER | MIR CHAKER | GULOO |
| MIR RAMEN | | MIR AALI | MIR SHAHDAD | FIROZ |
| | | *MIR NAUT | | FEROZ SHAH SHIHAR |
| | | | | MIR CHAKER |
| ACCORDING TO MAULANA FARIDI | ACCORDING TO HITU RAM | ACCORDING TO FAMILY SOURCES | ACCORDING TO HITURAM & MAULANA FARIDI | ACCORDING TO SARDAR KHAN BALUCH |

Table comparing various charts showing descent of Rinds, Lasharis and Hoats from Mir Jalal Khan.

The sources are indicated under each tree.

*Mir Naut is said to be the progenitor of all Kalmaties. He is descendent of Mir Hoat or Hautak Khan.

[illegible]

222

TABLE NO. A 6

MALIK ZARDAR

DAUGHTER MALIKA MARRIED
TO KAMALIPAN OF KALMAT

TALANG

HIDRO BIJAR SOHRAB

HIDRO AHMED SHAHO

SAHAQ SHAHDAD

SHAHO BIJAR

MEHRAB DARYAI

BEHRAM MUBARAK

MIR MEHMED RINZUK JUMA

MIR BIJAR SAMI MEHMUD JEAND

MIR RAHMAT MOHD. HASHIM UMED ALI

MULA ABBAD CHASHO SHAHO

HAJI HASHIM KHUDA BAKHSH MOHAMMAD

(HAJI SHAH ALI VILLAGE, MALIR) (HAJI SHAH ALI VILLAGE, MALIR) (ASOO GOTH, MALIR)

(ASOO GOTH, MALIR)

TABLE SHOING MURGHGAR BRANCH OF THE KALMATIS.

```

graph TD
    JEAND --> MAIHER1[MAIHER]
    JEAND --> BARAN1[BARAN]
    MAIHER1 --> KANDO1[KANDO]
    MAIHER1 --> MAIHER2[MAIHER]
    KANDO1 --> BARAN2[BARAN]
    KANDO1 --> KANDO2[KANDO]
    MAIHER2 --> JAMAR[JAMAR]
    MAIHER2 --> MAIHER3[MAIHER]
    JAMAR --> KANDO3[KANDO]
    JAMAR --> MAIHER4[MAIHER]
    KANDO3 --> BARAN3[BARAN]
    KANDO3 --> KANDO4[KANDO]
    MAIHER4 --> JEAND2[JEAND]
    MAIHER4 --> BARAN4[BARAN]
  
```

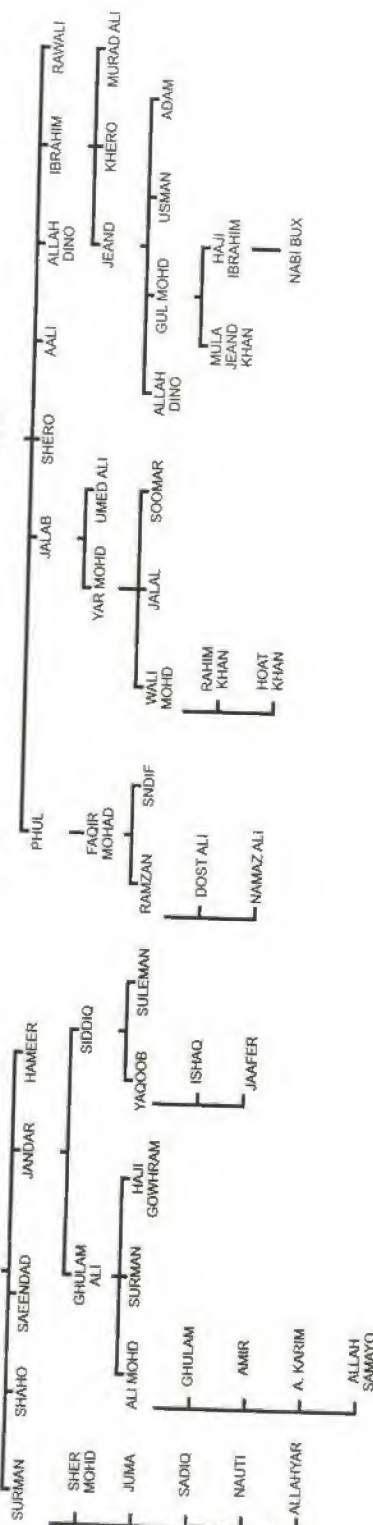


SHALO
|
SUJUN
|
KANDO

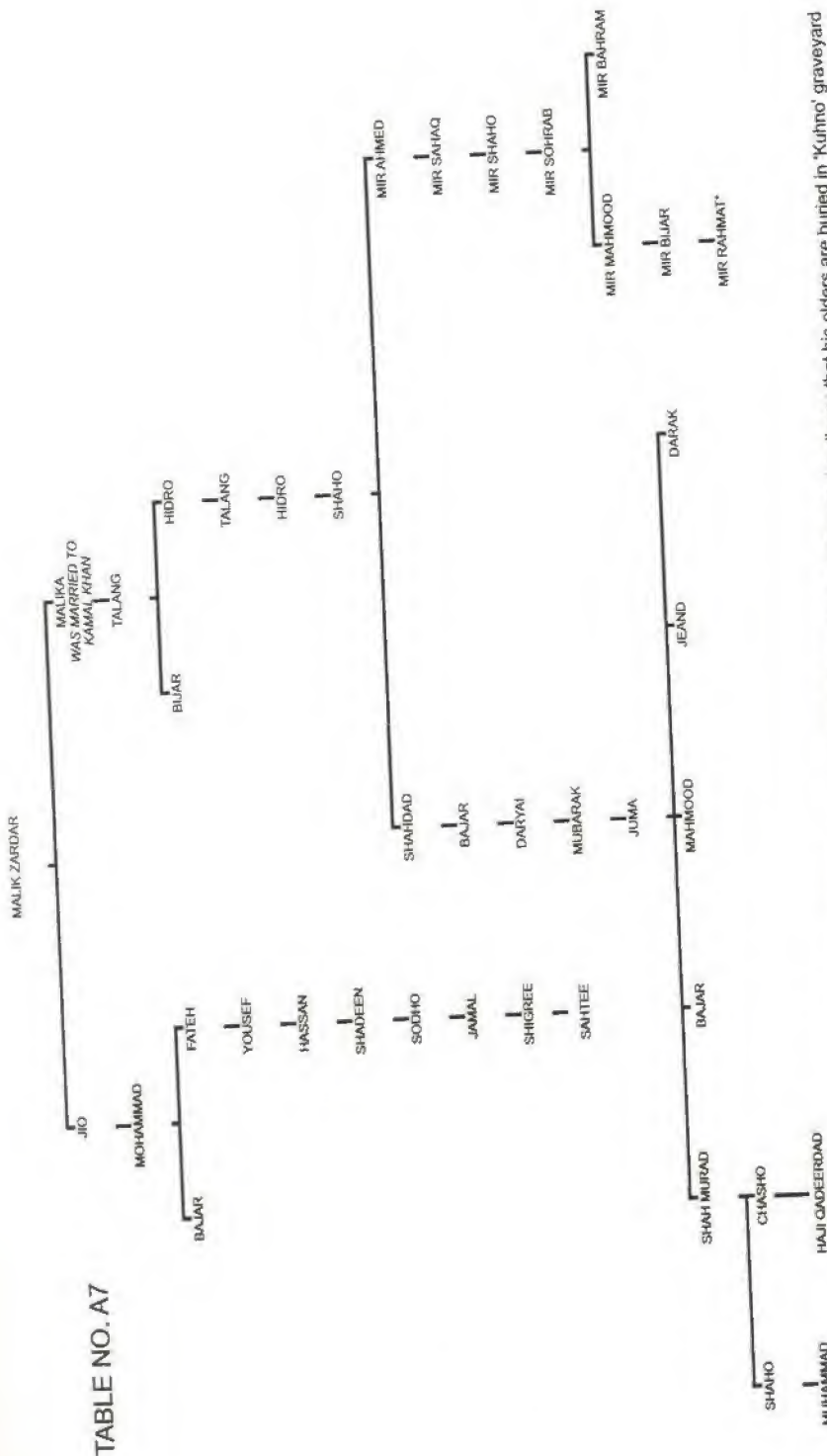
SALIH AALI CHANGO SUJUN MITHO BASHAM SHAHO
|
NAUTI SURMAN MUTKO

CHAKAR

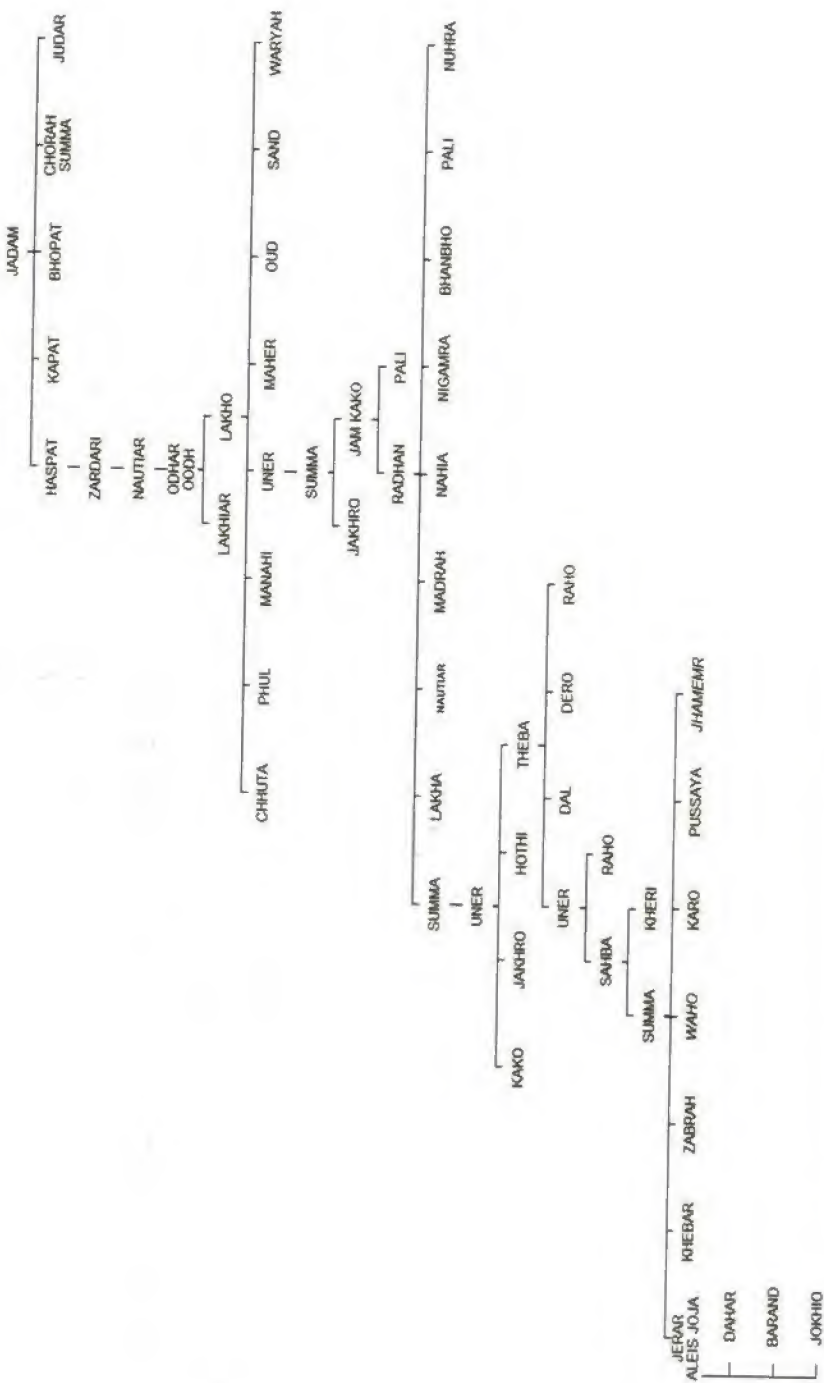
PINYO



The chart showing Bhawa family's lineage. These are settled in Sakro area. The Bhawa claim their descent from Giandar son of Nauz Bands son of Naut. Upwards Sujun Shalo, till Giandar the account is not satisfactory.



* This Mir Rehmat of Pasni and claims to be a chieft of that area. His elders were recognized as such by the Britishers, he alleges that his elders are buried in 'Kuhno' graveyard of Pasni under stone carved graves.
 The chart shows line of Murghar, tied in matrimonial relation once more, with the Mohammadanis after so many generations.
 Note the difference between the lineage of Mir Rehmat of Pasni in Table A6 and A7; that shows the difference between the genealogical record kept by the Mulla Dost Mohammad and the sources at Pasni.



Source: Family record of Jams of Jekhia, verified by Mohammad Hassan Jekhio.

GENEALOGY OF SUMMAS OF SINDH ACND CUTCH
ACCORDING TO THE TUHFATULKARAM.

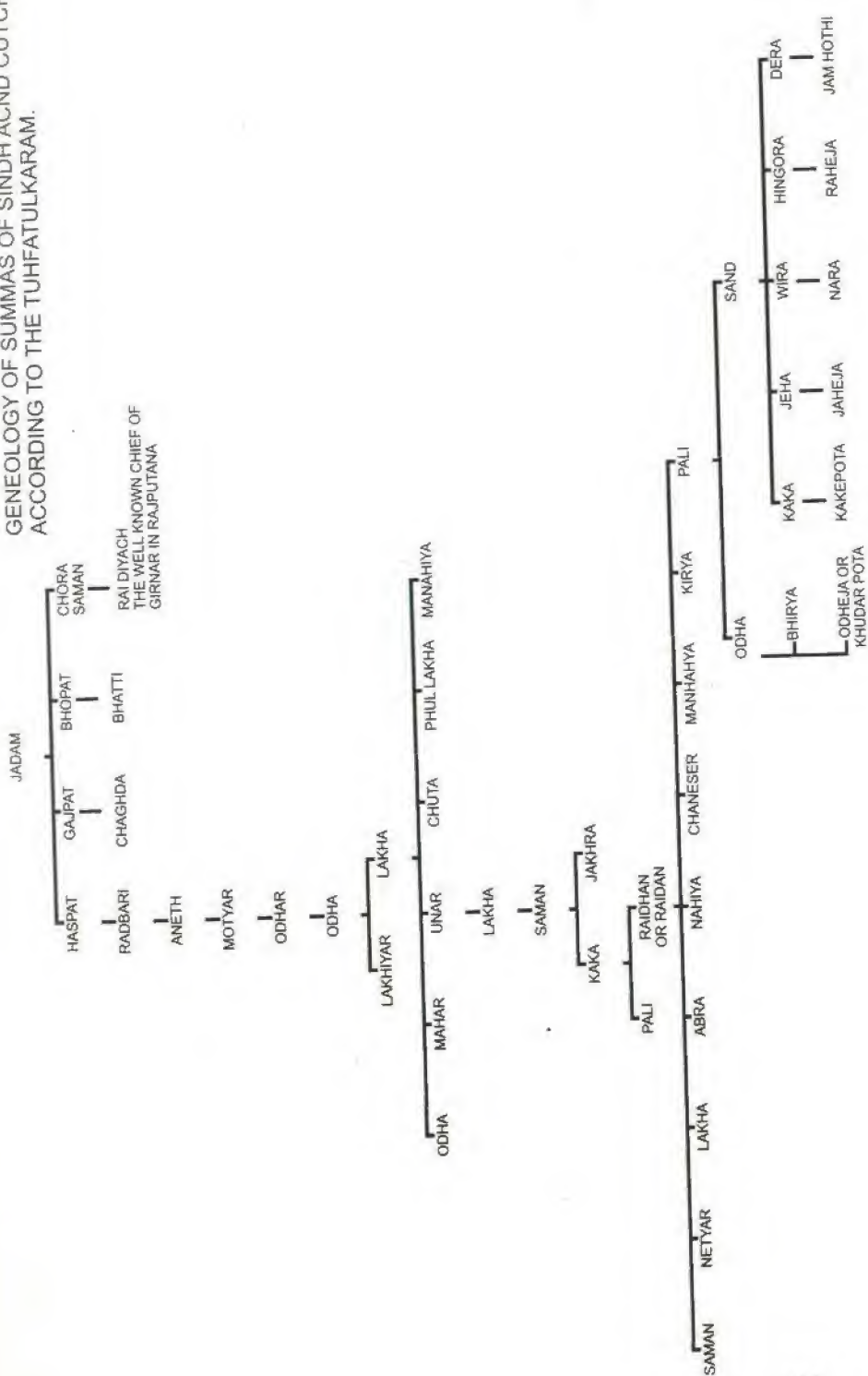
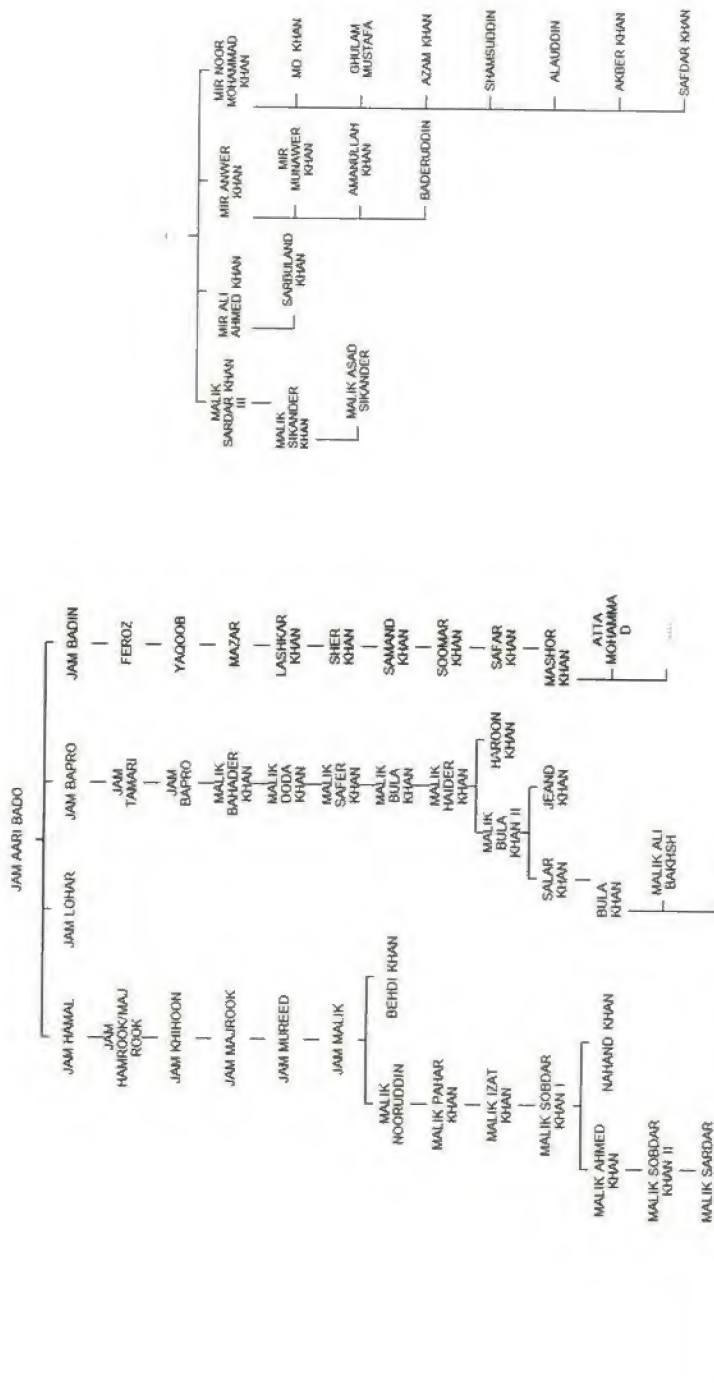


TABLE NO. C3



Geneological chart of Malikis of Bulfat, according to Bulfat Malikis.

JOKHIO

MUSA — TEEBHAR — BHAGI — BANDI ALIAS HASSAN — TAJIA — ACHHIHA — SALO ALIAS SALAR

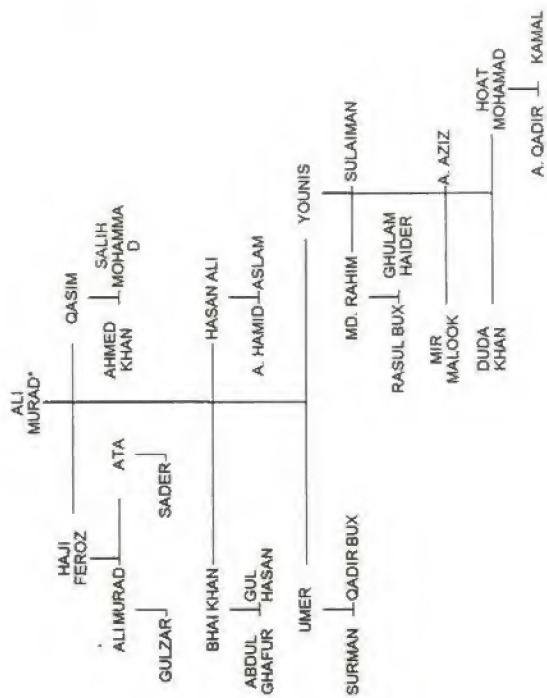
NANDO —
HAJI —
JAM MEERAN —
JAM MAHER ALI — JAM BIJAR —
JAM HAJI I —

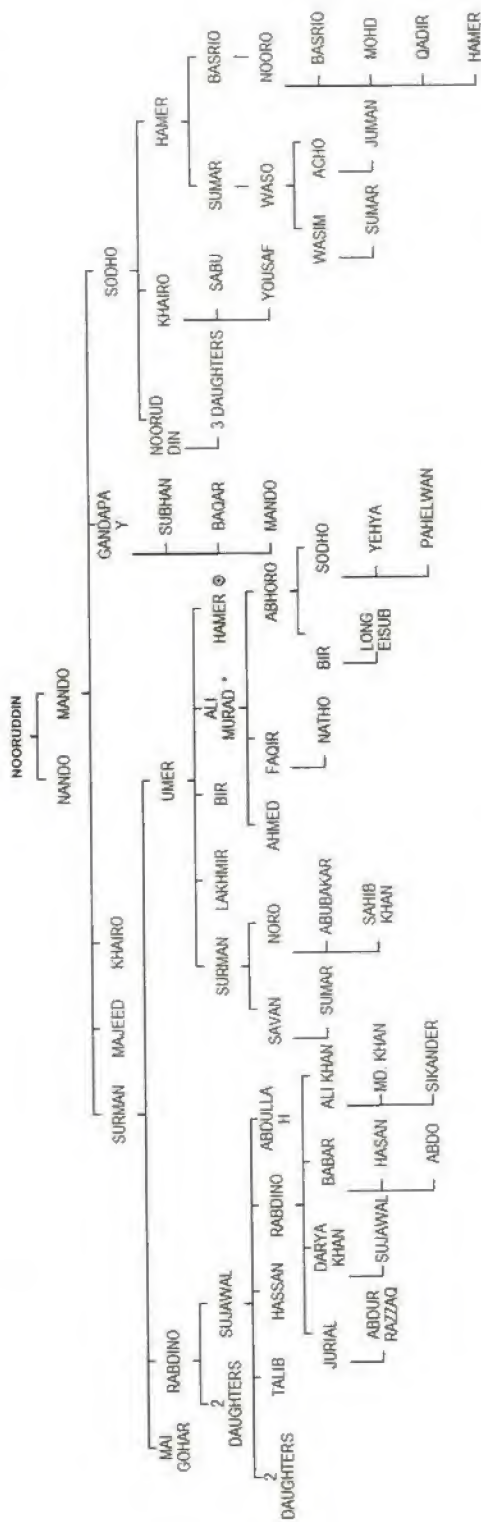
JAM MUREED —
JAM HAJI II —
JAM KARIMDAD —
MOHAMMAD — AHMED —
JAM MUREED II —
JAM DINAR —
BEHRAM —
DARYA KHAN —
ALLAH BAKHSH —
KHAIR ALI —
BEHRAM —
BAJAR KHAN —
ABDUL HAFEEZ —
ABDUL SALAM —

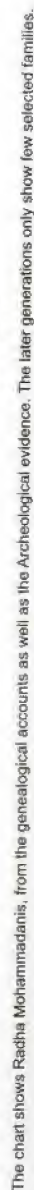
CHAKER —
CHAKER D 1230 H —
JAM BAJAR BECAME JAM IN 1161 H. D. 1211 H. —
JAM MURAD ALI —
JAM MURAD ALI —
JAM MURAD ALI —
JAM MAHER ALI —
JAM BAJAR —
BACHAL —
GHULAM KADIR —
KANBER ALI —
SALIH MOHAMMAD —
DESSAR —
DOST ALI —
HIS DESCENDANTS ARE SETTLED IN JUNGSHAH —
HIS DESCENDANTS ARE SETTLED IN LASBELA —

CHOHAR —
TAGIO —
NATHALO —
JARO —
RADHO —
SATAL —
SAKH —

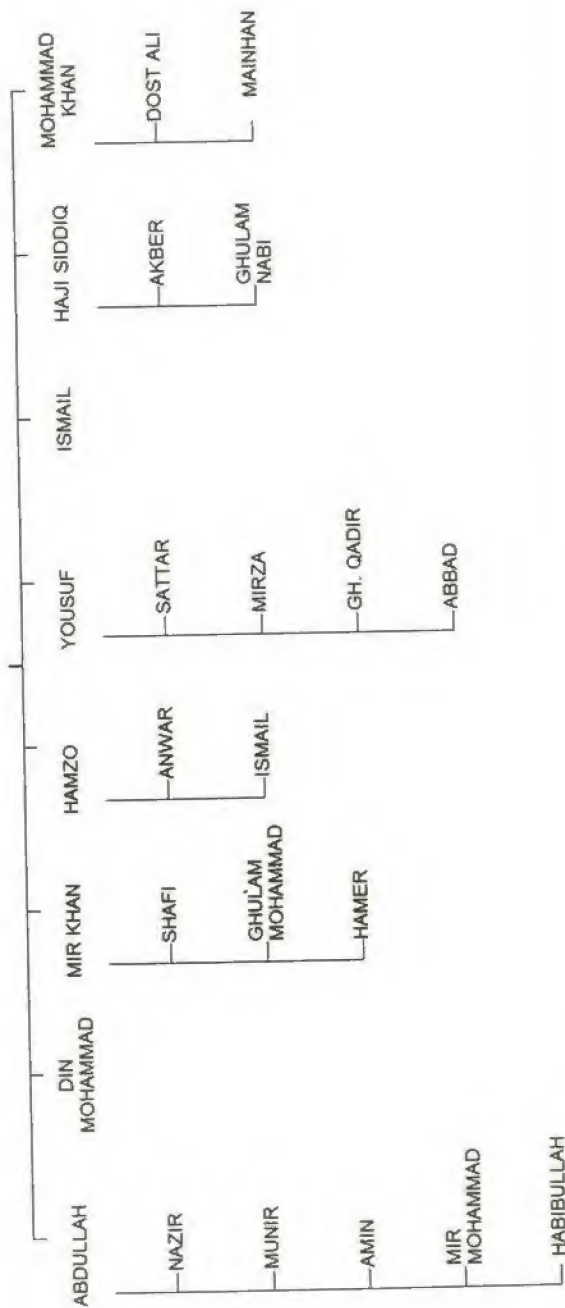
229



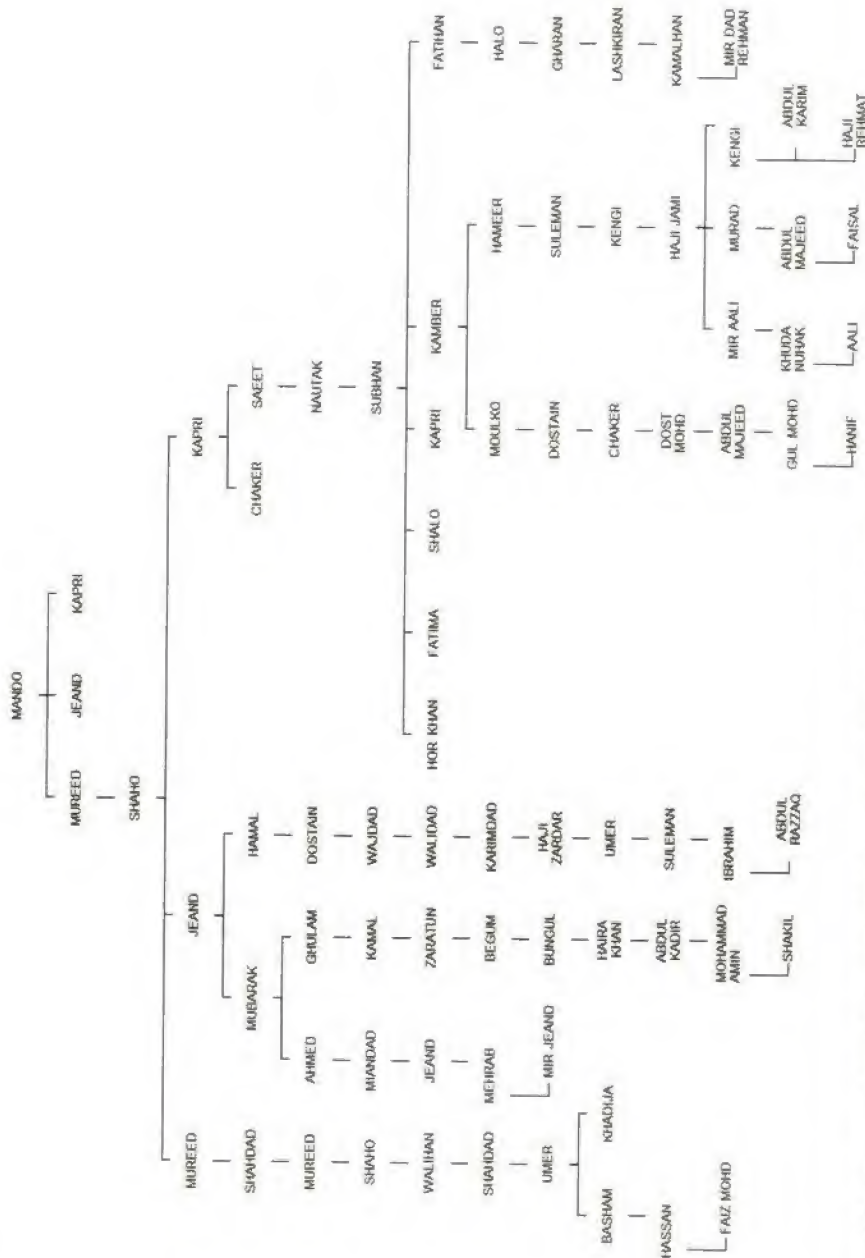




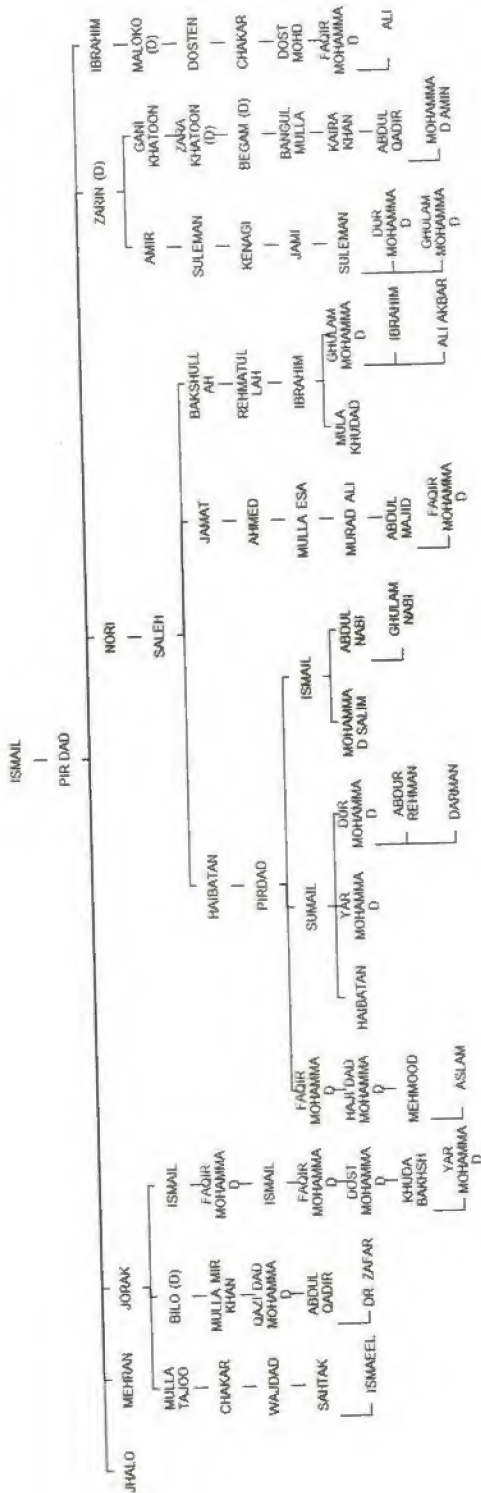
HAMER®



The chart gives lineage of Mondanis of GORAI scion of Kalmati. Gandapay son of Mando wast the valliant one who became famous and was sung by bards for his exploits.
The chart places him in latter eighteenth, early nineteenth centuries and it coincides with the political happenings and memorable tribal events.



SHAHO: along with 18 was killed in Hingol area and is buried on the bank of Hingol. His descendants immediately migrated to Iranian Makran. Later they started shifting back in the times of *Qalander*, the Elder and his son, Dostain. Qalander the elder was married to 'Moulko', he had a son, Dostain, who had two sons, one *Qalander*, other *Chaker*. Most of these are settled in Malir, a few families still live at *Bara Iran*.



The descendants of Pirad cant connect themselves to the earlier generations. They are part of Kalmatis in Karachi area and have inter-married with other scion.

12. Baluch, N.A. 1991, The Kalmati Tombs in Sindh and Baluchistan, *Pakistan Archaeology*, No 26, Department of Archaeology and Museums, Karachi 244-5
13. Lashari, Kaleem, 1992. Evolution of stone graves in Kohistan and coastal areas of Sindh, Baluchistan, 28.
14. Ibid 28
16. Nizamuddin, Mirza, *Tabqat-e-Akbari*, 347
17. Badaoni, Abdul Qadir bin Muluk Shah AI, *Muntak-hab-ut-Tauwarikh*, (Tr) George S.A. Ranking, H. Lowe and Haig, 1898,1884 and 1924, Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta 503
18. Ferishta, 1966 (Reprint), *Rise of the Mohammadan power in india*, John Briggs (Tr), Calcutta Vol IV, 147
19. Lahori, Abdul Hameed, 1866-68, *Badshah Nama*, Vol I.II Bibliotheca Indica Series, Calcutta
20. Brohi, Ali Ahmed. *History on tombstone*, 9
21. Dekhuda, Ali Akbar, 1340 (Shamsi), *Lughat Nama*, Chapkhana-e-Mauses Intesharat of Chap Danishgah -e-Tehran, Vol. 17, 387
22. Raj Anand, 1343 (Shamsi). *Farhang-e-jamia farsi*, Chapkhana-e-Haidri, Kitab firoschi-e-Khayyamm, Iran
23. Mirza, Kazim Raza Beg, 1990, Chaukandi: Karachi ka kadeem aur Tarikhi Kaberistan, *Daily Jang* (Urdu), Karachi 28 March, 13
24. The chaukandi over the grave of Jam Chhatta (d. 1110 AH) has presently fallen and the stone lintels, shafts, capitals etc. are lying about the grave.
25. Baluch, N.A. 1991, The Kalmati Tombs in Sindh and Baluchistan, 245.
26. Ansari, Azmat, 1987, A burial ground of Greek Soldiers? *Daily Dawn*, Karachi
27. Baluch, N. A, 1991. The Kalmati Tombs in Sindh and Baluchistan, 245.
28. Ibid, 245-6
29. Du Ry, Carl J, 1970. *Art of Islam*, Harry N. Abrams Inc. New York, 25
30. Rice, Tamara Talbot, 1961. *The Seljuks in Asia*. Miinor, Thames and Hudson, London, 28-9,

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Lashari, Kaleem, 1992, Evolution of stone graves in Kohistan and coastal areas of Sindh, Baluchistan, *Journal of Pakistan Archaeologists' Forum*, 25-5, Vol. 1, Issue 1
2. Cousens, Henry, 1929, 1975, *The Antiquities of sind* Oxford University Press, Karachi 165
3. Zajadacz-Hastenrath, Salome, 1978, Chaukhandigraber, Studien Zur Grabkunst in Sind und Baluchistan, Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH, Wiesbaden
4. Hassan, Mumtaz, Chowkandi Tombs, *Artistic Pakistan*, Karachi Vol, No 2.24-31
5. Bukhari, Hakim Ali Shah, as refered in Jokhio, Bashir Ahmed, 1990. Kaberistan Chaukandi, asal Haqiqat. Daily *Jang* (Urdu), Karachi 28th March
6. Jokhio, Bashier Ahmed, 1990 Kaberistan Chaukandi, asal Haqiqat, Daily *Jang* (Urdu), Karachi, 28th March
7. Brohi, Ali Ahmed (Publication year not mentioned), *History on Tombstone*, Sindhi Adabi Board, Jamshoro and Daily Qurbani (Sindhi), Shikarpur
15. Dickie, James, 1978, Allah and eternity: Mosque, Madrasas and Tombs. In George Michell (Edt.) *Architecture of the Islamic world*. Thames and Hudson, London 45
10. Hasan, Shaikh Khurshid, 1987, Chaunkandi the resting place of Jokhia Chief, Daily *Dawn*, Karachi 2nd June
11. Ahmed, Basheeruddin, 1919, 1990. *Waqiat-e-Dar-ul Hukumat Dehli* (Urdu), Shamsi Press Agra, Urdu Academy Delhi, 577-8, 673-5

42. Al Istakhari, Abu Ishaq Ibrahim, 1870. *Kitab al- Masalik wa -l-Mumalik*. BGA, Vol.1, 164
43. Al Muqaddasi, Shamsuddin Abu Abd Allah, 1877 *Ahsan at-Taqasim*, BGA, Vol. III, 487
44. Ibn Haukal, Abul Qasim, 1873. *Kaitab al- Masalik wa-l-Mumalik*, Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum. M.J. Goeje (Ed.), Vol. II, Lugdunum Batavorum
45. Beihaqi, Abul Fazl, 1862. *Tarikh-e-Masudi*. W.H. Morley (Ed.), Calcutta, 235-6
46. Nizam al-Mulk, 1891. *Siasat Namah*, Ch. Scherccr (ed), Paris 68-72
47. Al Muqaddasi, Shamsuddin Abu Abd Allah, 1877, *Ahsan at taqsim*, 478.
48. Polo, Marco, 1871, 1903. *The Book of ser Maro Polo, The Venetian, concerning the Kingdoms and Marvels of the east*, Colonel H.Yule (Tr.), Revision by H. Cordeir, London
49. Dames, M.longWorth, 1904, *The Baluch Race*, 35-6.
50. Nizam al-Mulk, 1891. *Siasat Namah and Hudud al alam*, 1937, Translated and explained by V. Minorsky, London.
51. Gankovsky, Yu. Y, *The People of Pakistan*, Translated by Igor Gavrilov, Peoples Publishing House, Labore 147 (year of publication not mentioned)
52. Baluch, Mohammad Sardar Khan, 1965, *The Great Baluch*, 185
53. Ibid. 173
 The fact of Summa sympathy for Lasharis becomes obvious. in a poem composed by Mir Gowhram Lashari. While replying to Mir Chaker Rind he refers to the expected help from Summas/Bhattees of (Thalta) Sindh against Chaker and his patrons Arghuns.
 Mari, Mir Khuda Bakhsh Bajarani, *Qadeem Balochi Shairi*, Bazm-e-Saqafat, Quetta 1963, 66.
 Same fact is also reflected in writings of other writers, when they discuss that event,
 Mari, Sher Mohammad, 1970. *Baluchi Kuhnee Shaeree*, Baluchi Academy, Quetta 107 f
54. Ibid, 185

31. Du Ry, Carel J., 1970. *Art of Islam*, 28.
32. Oliver, Edward O, 1890, *Across the Border, Paitan and Biloch*, Capman and Hall, Ltd, London 30
33. The genealogy as is preserved with Baluch, Ilmash Rumi was the progenitor; he was the elder when Baluch left Halab (Aleppo?) He is famous as 'Rumi' and also 'Halabi'. Gulcharagh was his son, he had a son named Surkhtaj, father of Mir Amarah, his son was Mir Ahmed alies Mir Baluch, who had son Mir Dost Mohammad, his son was Mir Shah Abbas, has son Mir Haroon who was father of famous Mir Jalal Khan, latter is believed to have lived between 1100-1185 AD, and died at Bumpur, in Persian Baluchistan.
Baluch, Mohammad Sardar Khan, 1965. *The Great Baluch*, The Baluchi Academy, Quetta 117-8
34. Ries, Sidi Ali
35. Carcaradec, Marie de, 1981. *Mural Ceramics in Turkey*, Red House Press, Istanbul, 14 and 100
36. Akhtar, Mohammad Saleem, 1990. *Sindh Under Mughals*, Translation of Mazhar-i-Shahjehani. NIHCR, Islamabad. 161-2
37. Ibid, 161-2, 109, 175-6, 186,200 etc.
38. Dames, M. Longworth, 1904. *The Baluch Race*. Royal Asiatic Society, London 29
39. As earlier evidence suggests presence of Baluches (?) in these areas. Refer Strabon. Geographika, XV, 2,14; XV, 1, 10;
H.L. Jones, 1919 and 1932. XV, 1, 10; 'Morals and speech (of these people) are, for the most part, Persian. Certain scholars ascertain on linguistic grounds that the evidence may be had from the comparison of Baluch and Iranian dialects farsi and Khuri. It is beleived that the Baluchi language descents from the anceint Iranian dialect dominant in the territory of Media and Parthia i-e in the north and north western areas of the Iranian world.
Gieger, W.D, 1889. Balucesche Texte mit Usbersetzung, ZDMG, Bd. XIII.
1898 and 1901. Die Sprache der Balutschen. Grundriss tranischen Philologie, Bd. I. Abt. 2, Strassbourg, 231-248.
Frye, R.N, 1961. Remarks on Baluchi History, *Journal of Central Asia*, Vol. VI, NO.1, 48-50
40. Al-Tabri, Abujafar Muhammad, 1879 and 1901, *Tarikh ar-Rasul wa-l-Muluk*, Edt. M.J. de Goeje, 3 series, Lugduni Batavorum 2703-2705
41. Ibn Hardadbeh, Abul Qasim Ubaidullah, 1889. *Kitab al- Masalik wa-l-Mumalik* (BGA, Vol, VI), 49-54, 163-164.

THE DECORATION

1. Wilber, Donald N., 1955. *The Architecture of Islamic Iran*, Princeton University Press, 32.
2. Hoag, John D, 1977. *Islamic Architecture*, Harry N. Abrams Inc, New York 290
3. Brown, Sir Percy, 1942. *Indian Architecture, The Islamic Period*. Bombay, 1
4. Pope, Arthur Upham, *Persian Architecture*. George Braziller, New York, 131
5. The vase and flower has been popularly depicted as an auspicious symbol in Indian Art and the examples abound at Mathura, Sanchi, Barhut, Surnath etc. It became very popular in Medieval Indian architecture and it was the symbol that was conventionalised.
6. Dani, Ahmad Hassan, 1982. *Thatta: Islamic Architecture*. IHHCC, Islamabad, fig 8, 172
7. Bakhtiar Laleh, 1970. *Sufi: Expreeion of MysticQuest*. Thames and Hudson, London 28
8. Dickie, James (Yaqoob Zaki), 1978. *Allah and Eternity: Mosque, Madrasas and Tombs*, 45
9. Nath, R, 1976. *History of Decorative Art in Mughal Architecture*, Motilal Banarsidas, Delhi 6-7
10. Purnakalsa/Purnakumbha/Purnaghata and Mangalakalasa, is one of the eight auspicious symbols of the classical Indian art. It is basically symbol of plenty and creativity and its conception goes as far back as to the religion of Regveda, "It is the embelm par excellence of fulness and prosperity, of life endowed with all its gifts".
Agarwal, V. S., 1965. *Studies in Indian Art*, Varanasi, 43
11. Dani, Ahmed Hasan, 1982. *Thatta: Islamic Architecture*. Institute of Islamic History Culture and Civilization, Islamabad, 65
12. It is a characterstic ornament of the Hindu Temple, but was used later on every sort of non relegious buildings. Mughals have used it extensively. It was called Ghantamala.
See Nath, R, 1976. *History of Decorative Art in Mughal Architecture*, 30 and Plate XVII.
13. Hasan, Shaikh Khurshid, 1992. Grave stone from Chaukhandi, *Journal of Central Asia* Vol. XV, No. 1 July.
See also Rashdi, Syed Hussamuddin, 1967. *Makli Nama* (Sindhi), Sindhi Adabi Board, Hyderabad 112,722-6, 98-100

55. Akhtar, Mohammad Saleem, 1990. *Sindh under Mughais*, 175.
56. Ibid, 175
57. Ibid, 161-2
58. Ibid, 161-2
59. *Risalo of Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai*, 1900. Sur Perbhati-Dastan, Education Department, Bombay. The local tradition not only confirms the name but the caste of the Jam family. See another piece from the poetry of Shah Latif:
60. Baluch, Nabi Bakhsh Khan, 1970. *Bailaeen ja Boal* (Sindhi), Zeb Adabi Markaz: Hyderabad 15.
61. Masson, Charles, 1843, 1844, *Narrative of various Journeys in Beluchistan, the Punjab and Kalat*, Richard Bently, London, 302.
62. Hitu Ram, Rai Bahadur Lala, *Tarikh-e-Baluchistan*, Baluchi Academy, Quetta, 3rd Edition, 1978, 688-9.
63. Baluch, Nabi Bakhsh Khan, 1970. *Bailaeen ja Boal* (Sindhi), 19.
64. Lashari, Kaleem, 1992. Evolution of stone graves in Kohistan and coastal areas of Sindh, Baluchistan, 33.
65. Hitu Ram, Rai Bahadur Lala, *Tarikh-e-Baluchistan*, 690.
66. Lashari, Kaleem, 1992. Evolution of stone graves in Kohistan and coastal areas of Sindh, Baluchistan, 32. According to another tradition the Bajar Jokhio, after the battle of Allah Bano, against Bulfats got desperate and left for Uthal, he settled at Tatian; see Jokhio, Ali Ahmed, 1992. *Tarikh-e-Jokhia*, (Sindhi)
67. Jokhio, Ali Ahmed, 1992, *Tarikh-e-Jokhia*, 99.
68. Baluch, Nabi Bakhsh Khan, 1970. *Bailaeen ja Boal*, 25.
69. Zadjadacz-Hastenrath, Salome, 1981, Chuklndi Tombs. *Sindhological Studies*, Summer. Institute of Sindhology, Jamshora, 58, fig. 1

17. Comolli, A. 1788, *Bibliographia Storico- Critica Dell Architectura*, Rome, I p. 16. Lib. III Chapter 1
18. Wittkower, Rudolf, 1962, *Architectural Principles in the age of Humanism*. Alec Tiranti, London, 117
See also Lomazzo, Giov. Paolo, 1844, *Trattato dell arte della pittura* (1590), 2nd ed. 112. Chap 34
19. Gardner, R. W, 1945, *A Primer of Proportion in the Arts of from and Music*, New York
Aristotle, *De Coelo* 1, I (268a), as refered in Wittkower, Rudolf, 1962, *Architeclural Principles in the Age of Humanism*, 103
20. Leone, Jane, 1726, *The Archilecture of Leon Batista Alberti in Ten Books*, London, BK. VI, Ch.2
J. Rykwart, 1955 (Reprint) London
21. Palladio, Andra, 1570, *Quattro libri dell architetettura*, BK IV, Preface, Issac Ware (Tr), 1738
22. Magrini, A, 1845, *Memorie intorano Andrea Polladio*. Pana, Appendix, 12
23. Wittkower, Rudolf, 1962, *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism*, 113
24. Ibid, 117
25. Palladio, Andrea, 1570, *Quartto Libri*, BK.I, Ch.21 Issac Ware (tr) 1738,
see also Bertotti Scanozzi: *Li fabbriche e-i disegni di Ardrea Palladia racotti e illustrati*, 1776-83
26. Ibid, BK. 1, Ch. 23
27. Ibid, BK. 1, Ch. 23
28. Lashari, Kaleem, 1993, *Study of decorative patterns*, 351
29. Ibid, 3-19
30. Hasan, Shaikh Khurshid, 197, *Origin of Chaukandi tombs*, *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Soceity*, Vol. 24 (part II), 105-6
31. Lashari, Kaleem, 1993, *Study of decorative patterns*,
32. Lashari, Kaleem, 1992, *Evolution of stone grave*, 32.
33. Ibid, 16-7
34. Ibid, 36-8

THE STRUCTURE

1. Lashari, Kaleem; 1993, Study of Decorative Patterns and Their Evolution on stone carved graves, *Journal of Pakistan Archaeologists' Forum*, Vol. 2. Issue I and II, 363
3. Lashari, Kaleem, 1993, Study of Decorative Patterns and their evolution on stone carved graves, 298
4. Ibid, 310-14
5. Flury, S, 1925, *Le Decor Epigraphique Des Monuments De Ghazna, Extrait Dela revue Syria*, Librairie Paul Geuthner, Paris, Pl. VI. let 2. Pl. VIII, 64
6. The lotus buds, the freize of half lotuses and the vase and leave motif i-e Purna Kalsa form the decoration of stone carved grave which compels one to make such conclusions. See photogragphs in Ibid, Pl. xx, let 2
7. It was a major point of pride that the guild of artisan stayed at one commision for long. The tradition has it that the artisans consumed 8 maunds of pepper while on work at the great grave complex at Tak Makan. The quantity of pepper formed a standerd with which the number of artisans and thier stay could be estimated.
8. Lashari, Kaleem, 1993, Study of Decorative Patterns and their Evolution on stone carved graves, 320-21
9. Dickie, James, 1978, *Allah and Eternity, Madrasas and Tombs*. 45.
10. Lashari, Kaleem, 1993, Study of Decorative patterns and their evolution on stone carved graves, 317-20
11. Ibid, 320-21
12. Timofiewilsch, W, 1959, *Art Veneta XIII-XIV*, 15 and Milanesi, 1875, *Le Lettre di, Michelangelo Buonarroti*, Florence, 554
13. Stone, Irving, 1965, *I Michelangelo, Sculptor: an autobiography through letters*, Fontana Books, London, 267
14. Clarke, Kenneth, 1960, *The Nude*, Penguin Books, London, 13
15. Casariano, Caesre, 1521, *Di Lucio Vitruvio Pollione de Archetectura*, etc. Como. Lib III. I
16. Clarke, Kenneth, 1960, *The Nude*, 13

- AL-TABRI, ABU JAFAR MUHAMMAD, *Tarikh ar-Rasul wa-l-Muluk*. Edt. M. J. de Goeje, 3 series, Lugduni Batavorum 1879 and 1901
- AL ISTAKHARI, ABU ISHAQ IBRAHIM. *Kitab Masalik al Mumalik*, BGA, Vol. I, 1870
- AL MUQADDASI, SHAMS UDDIN ABU ABD ALLAH, *Ahsan at-Taqasim*. BGA. Vol. III, 1877
- AL MUQADDASI, SHAMSUDDIN ABU ABD ALLAH, *Ahsan at-Taqasim*, BGA, Vol. III, 1877
- ANDERSON, J *A History of Jewellery*. Orbit Publication Ltd, London.
- ANDREWS, W.P. *Indus and its Provinces*. Indus Publications, Karachi 1986 (Reprint).
- SCHIMMEL, ANNEMARIE *Trump's Contributions to the study of Sindhi*. *Sindhological Studies*. Winter 1985. Institute of Sindhology, Jamshoro. pp.63-93.
- ANSARI, AZMAT. *A burial ground of Great Soldiers? Daliy Dawn* .1987.
- ANSARI, M.A. *Amusements and games of the Great Mughals Islamic Culture*, 35.1961. i-iv, Hyderabad Deccan. pp. 183-197.
- ANSARI, MOHAMMAD AZHAR *Geographical Glimpses of Medieval India*. 3 Vols. *Idarah-i-Adabiyat-i-Delli*. 1989.
- ASHRAF, HUSAIN. *A Guide to Fatehpur Sikri*. Government of India Press, Delhi 1947.
- ASHRAF, KNAVAR MOHAMMAD *Hindustani Muaashira, Ahde Wuusta maen* (Urdu). Tarki-e-Urdu Bureau, New Delhi, 1989.
- ASHRAF ALI, MIR *Tawarikh-e-Afghanistan* (Urdu). Indus Publications, Karachi 1982 (Reprint).
- ATTAR, MOHAMMAD ALI *Spicemens of Calligraphy*. Ministry of Information and Culture, Afghanistan 1975.
- AURANGZEB *Rukaat-i-Alamgiri*. ("Letters of Aurungzeb")
Translated by J.H. Bilimoria, London: Luzac, 1908.
- AURANGZEB. *Adab-i-Alamgiri*. Extensive Quotations in the Works of all modern scholars. Also translated by Jonathan Scott in *Tales, Anecdotes and Letters*. Srewsbury: 1800, pp.345-466.
- BADAYONI, ABDUL QADIR BIN MULUK SHAH AL, *Muntakhab-ut-Tauwarikh* (Tr) George S.A. Ranking. H. Lowe and Haig. 1898, 1884 and 1924m Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta.
- BADAYONI. ABDUL QADIR *Muntakhab-e-Twarikh* Etd. by Ahmed Ali, 3 Vols. (Urdu Translation by Ihteshamuddin Muradabadi), Lucknow 1889.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ABBASI, AKHUND ABDUR RAHEEM WAFI Jawahar Lughat
Akechar (Sindh/Persian). Sindhi Language Authority, Hyderabad, 1993.
- ABBASI, AKHUND ABDUR RAHEEM WAFI Har Gunyo (Sindhi). Sindhi
Language Authority, Hyderabad, 1993.
- ABBOTT, J. Sindhi: A Re-interpretation of the unhappy valley.
Indus Publications, Karachi 1977 (Reprint).
- ACHARYA, G.A. Catalogue of the coins in the Prince of Wales Museum of
Western India, Bombay. The Sultans of Gujrat. The British India Press,
Bombay, 1935.
- AGARVAL, V.S., Studies in Indian Art. Varanasi, 1965.
- AHMED, BASHIRUDDIN, Waqiat-e-Darul Hukumat Delhi (Urdu). Shamsi
Press Agra, Urdu Academy Delhi, 1919, 1990.
- AHMED, PROFESSOR NAZIR (EDT.), Dewani-i-Sirajuddin Khurasani. Muslim
University, Aligarh, India, 1972.
- AHMED, SIR SAYED, Athar al-Sanadid. (Urdu). Urdu Academy, Delhi, 1990
(Reprint).
- AITKEN, E. H., Gazetteer of the Province of Sind. Indus Publications Karachi
(Reprint) 1986.
- AJWANI, A. H. A History of Sindhi Literature. Allied Book Company, Karachi
1984.
- AKHTAR, MOHAMMAD SALEEM, Sindh under Mughals. Translation of
Mazhar-i-Shahjahan. NIHCR, Islamabad 1990.
- ALI, DR. MUBARAK, Mughal Darbar (Urdu). Nigarshat, Lahore 1986.
- ALI, SYED AMEER, "Islamic Culture under the Moguls."
Islamic Culture (October 1927). Hyderabad Deccan. pp. 499-521.
- ALI, SYED NAWAB (EDT.), Mirat-i-Ahmedi. Oriental Institute, Baroda 1928.
- ALLANA, GHULAM ALI, Sindhi Booli Ji Lisani Geography (Sindhi).
Institute of Sindhology, Jamshoro 1979.
- ALLANA, GHULAM ALI, Origin & Ancestry of Sindhi Language.
Sindhological Studies. Winter 1978. Institute of Sindhology.
Jamshoro pp.26-53.

- BALUCH, MUHAMMAD SARDAR KHAN. *The Great Baluch, The Baluchi Academy, Quetta, 1965*
- BANGA, INDU. *Ports and their Hinterlands in India(1700-1950), Manohar, New Delhi 1992.*
- BANNERJI, ADRIS. *Some Post Muslim Temples and Sculptures of Rajasthan, Journal of Asiatic Society. Vol. VIII, 2. 1966.*
- BAQIR, MOHAMMED, *Lahore Past and Present. Punjab University Press 1952.*
- BARNETT, R.D. *Phygia and the Peoples of Anatolia in the Iron Age. Vol. I & II, Cambridge University Press 1967.*
- BARTHOLD. W. *Turkesten down to the Mongol Invasion. 3rd Edition. London 1968.*
- BEVERIDGE, H. *Akbar Namah, Vol. 1 -3. Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta 1910-1939.*
- BEALE, THOMAS WILLIAM, *An Oriental Biographical Dictionary, New ed. Rev. and enlarged by Henry George Keene. New York: Kraus Reprint Corporation (for the New York Public Library), 1965.*
- BEIHAQI, ABUL FAZI, *Tarikh-e-Masudi, W.H. Morley (Ed.), Calcutta, 1862.*
- BERNIER, F. *Travels in the Moghul Empire A.D.1636-1668. Edt. by A. Constable, Westminster 1891 Reprinted, New Delhi 1968. Urdu tr. Nafees Academy. Karachi 1960.*
- BERTOTTI SCANOZZI: *Li fabbriche e-i disegni di Arelrea Palladio racotti e illustrati, 1776-83.*
- BEYANI, MEHDI *Ahwal wa Aasar-e-Khushnavesan ba Namunahai Az Khutut Khush, Tehran University 1358.*
- BHATTEE, MOHAMMAD ISHAQ. *Feqhai-e-Hind (Urdu). Idarat Saqafat Islamia, Lahore 1976.*
- BILLIOMORIA, N.M, *The Summa and Summra Dynasties in Sindh. Journal of Sindh Historical Society, Vol. VI. No.2, 1942. pp 86-103*
- BILLIOMORIA, N. M. *Identification of some old places in Ancient Sindh, Journal of Sindh Historical Society. Vol.1 No. 3, 1935 p. 1-34.*
- BILLIOMORIA, N.M, *Three Ancient Travellers in Sindh, Journal of Sindh Historical Society. Vol. II, No.4. 1937. pp 2-17.*
- BLOCH MAN, H. & H.S. JARRET *Aien-e-Akbari, Calcutta, 1868-1894. Reprinted by Al-Biruni, Lahore 1972.*
- BOKHARI, HAKIM ALI SHAH *Chaukandi Type stone Tombs at Taung-History and Conservation, Pakistan Archaeology No. 27. Deptt. of Archaeology, Karachi-1993. pp 89-99.*

- BAER, E. A Group of Seljuq figural Bas Relief, *Oriens* Vol.20, 1967 pp. 107-124.
- BAKHTIAR, LALEH *Sufi Expressions of the Mystic Quest*, Thames and Hudson, London 1979.
- BALLARD, G.A. *Rulers of the Indian Ocean*, London 1927
Al-Biruni. Lahore 1979 Reprinted.
- BALUCH, KHUDEJA *Muqadimas Salwat ya Abul Hassan ji Sindhi*, Sindhi Language Authority, Hyderabad/Karachi, 1993.
- BALUCH, N. A.(Edt.) *Tarikh-i-Tahiri. History of Thatta* by S. Tahir M. Nasyani, in Persian, Sindhi Adabi Board, Hyderabad 1964.
- " " " *Shah Lutfullah Qadri jo Kalam (Sindhi)*, Institute of Sindhology, Hyderabad 1968.
- " " " *Meaan Shah Inayat jo Kalam (Sindhi)*, Sindhi Adabi Board, Hyderabad, 1963.
- " " " *Sindhi Boli jo Agato Manzoom Zakhro*, Sindhi Language Authority, Hyderabad, 1993.
- " " " *Sindhi Boli ain Adab ji Mukhtasar Tarikh (Sindhi)*, Pakistan Study Centre, Sindh University, Jamshoro 1990.
- " " " *Sindhi Suratkhati ain Khatati (Sindhi)*, Sindhi Language Authority Hyderabad/Karachi, 1992.
- " " " *Sipah Salar Darya Khan jo Hassab Nasab*, Mehran Quarterly. Vol 29. No.1 & 2. Sindhi Adabi Board, Hyderabad. 1980. pp. 100-121.
- " " " *Chronology of Summa Rulers of Sindh*, Proceedings of the 2nd session of Pakistan Historical Records and Archives commission, February, 1954. Govt. Printing Press, Karachi-1957.
- " " " *The Kalmati Tombs in Sindh and Baluchistan*, Pakistan Archaeology No.26, 1992. Deptt. of Archaeology, Karachi.
- " " " *Bailayeen ja Boal*, Zeb Adabi Markaz, Hyderabad. 1970
- " " " *Mashahur Sindhi Qissa, Sindh ja Ishqya Dastan*, Folklore Series, Sindhi Adabi Board, Hyderabad 1964.
- " " " *Beglar Namah*, Sindhi Adabi Board, Hyderabad 1980.
- " " " *Sindhi Seengar Shairi*, Sindhi Adabi Board, Jamshoro, 1986.
- " " " *Jangnama*, Sindhi Adabi Board, Jamshoro
- BALUCH, MUHAMMAD SARDAR KHAN, *Literary History of the Baluchistan, The Classical Period*, Vol.1, Baluchi Academy, Quetta 1977.

- CHAITNYA, KRISHNA, *Rajasthani Traditions, A History of Indian Painting*, Abhinav Publications, New Delhi*
- CHAND, MUNSHI HUKUM, *Twarikh Zila Dera Ghazi Khan* (Urdu), 1876, Indus Publications, Karachi 1992 (Reprint).
- CHANDRA, PRAMOD (Ed.), *Studies in Indian Temple Architecture*, American Institute of Indian Studies, 1975.
- CHANNA, MEHBOOB ALI, *Makli Takri jo sair* (Sindhi), Sindhi Adabi Board, Jamshoro, 1987.
- CHOPRA, PRAN NATH, *Some Aspects of Social Life During the Mughal Age (1526-1707)*, Jaipur: Shiva Lal Agarwal & Co. Ltd., Agra 1955 and 1963
- CHUGHTAI, DR. MOHAMMAD ABDULLAH, *Sar Guzasht Khat-e- Nastaleeq* (Urdu), Kitab Khana-e-Nauras, Lahore 1970.
- CLARKE, KENNETH, *The Nude*, Penguin Books, London, 1960
- COMOLLI, A, *Bibliografia Storico-Critica dell Archetectura*, Rome, 1788.
- COUSENS, HENRY, *SINDH TILES*, Portfolio of Illustration of Sindh Tiles, 50 coloured plates, large folio. Issued by Government of India. W. Griggs and Sons Ltd. 1906.
- " " " *The Antiquities of Sindh*, Oxford University Press, Karachi 1975 (Reprint).
- " " " *The Architectural Antiquities of Western India*, The India Society, London 1926.
- KERVAN, MONIK (Ed.), *Bahrain in the 16th century: an Impregnable Island*, Ministry of Information, Bahrain.
- CRAVEN, ROY C, *Indian Art, A Concise History*, Thames & Hudson, London 1976.
- CRAWFURD, J, *A Descriptive Dictionary of the Indian Island and Adjacent Countries*, London 1856.
- CRITCHLOW, KEITH, *Islamic Patterns*, Thames and Hudson, London, 1976.
- CUTTS, REV. EDWARD L, *A manual for The Study of the Sepulchral Slabs and crosses of the Middle Ages*, John Henry Parker, London MDCCCXLIX.
- DAMES, M. LONGWORTH *A Sketch of the Northern Balochi Language Containing a Grammar Vocabulary and Specimens of the Language*, Asiatic Society, Calcutta 1885.
- " " " *A text book of the Balochi Language*, Punjab Government Press, Lahore 1891.
- " " " *The Baluch Race*, Royal Asiatic Society, London 1904.

- BOXER, G.R. The Portuguese in The East, Portugal and Brazil, Edt. by H.V. Livermore, Oxford, 1953.
- " " " The portuguese Seaborne Empire, 1415-1825, Hutchinson of London, 1969.
- BABUR, The Babur-Nama. Translated from the Turki by Annette Beveridge. 2 vols. Luzac, London 1922.
- BROHI, ALI AHMED. History on Tombstone, Sindhi Adabi Board Jamshoro. *
- BROHI, ALI AHMED, Pir Patho Tarikh Jay Aaine Main, (Sindhi) Daily Hilal-e-Pakistan, Karachi. Friday, 17 May, 1991.
- BROWN, PERCY. Indian Architecture (Islamic Period), D.B. Taraporevala Co, Bombay 1968.
- BROWN, PERCY, Indian Painting under the Mughals. Oxford 1924.
- BROWNE, E.G, A Literary History of Persia. Vol. 1-4. Re-issued Cambridge University Press, London 1956.
- BUNTING, ETHEL-JANE W, Sindhi Tombs & Textiles. Maxwell Museum of Anthropology and the University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 1980.
- BURGESS, J. Antiquities of Kathiawar and Kutch, Archaeological Survey of Western India II London, 1876. Reprint by Sindhi Adabi Board, Jamshoro 1990.
- BURHANPURI, MATIULLAH RASHID. Burhanpur kay Sindhi Aulya (Urdu), Sindhi Adabi Board, Jamshoro, 1988.
- BURKETT, ME. E. Tomb Towers and Inscriptions in Iran. Oriental Art. XI, 2. 1965. pp. 101-106.
- BURNES, ALEXANDER. A Voyage on the Indus, Oxford University Press, Karachi 1974 (Reprint).
- " " " On the Maritime Communications of India, J.R.G.S. Vol VI, 1836.
- " " " Sindh Revisited, Department of Culture, Sindh, Karachi, 1993 (Reprint)
- BURTON, RICHARD F. Sindh and the Races that inhabit the valley of the Indus, Oxford University Press Karachi, 1973 (Reprint).
- CAMBELL, JAMES M (Edt.), Muslim and Parsi Castes and Tribes of Gujrat, Vintage Books, Gurgaon 1990 (Reprint).
- CARCARADEC, MARIE DE, Mural Ceramics in Turkey, Red House Press, Istanbul, 1965.
- CASARTANO, CAESRE, Di Lucio Vitruvio Pollione de Architectura, etc. Como, 1521.

- FANSHAWE. H.C., Delhi, Past and Present, John Murray. London 1902.
- FARISHTA, MOHAMMAD KASEM, Gulshan-e-Ibraheemi, Urdu Translation by Khwaja Abdul Hye, Lahore 1962.
- " " " Tarikh Farishta (Urdu Translation), Maktaba-e-Nauval Kishore, Lacknou.
- FERGUSON, JAMES, History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, 2 Vols. Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, Oriental Publishers, 1967. (A reprint of the revised 1910 edition).
- FERNAND, HELENE, The Horses of Tang Tai Tsung and the Stele of Yu, Journal American Oriental Society 1935, pp. 420-428.
- FIELD. HENRY, Tombs Chaukandi vet Pakistan accidentale . Anticuita Vjva - Special ed. Vol. I, 5, pp 27-33.
- FRYE, RICHARD N, Remarks on Baluch History, Journal of Central Asia. Vol. VI No.1, 1961
- FERISHTA, Rise of the Muhammadan Power in India, John Briggs (Tr) Calcutta, Voll IV, 1966 (reprint).
- FLURY. S. Le Decor Epigraphique Des Monuments De Ghazna, Extrait Dela revue Syria, Librairie Paul Geuthner Paris. Pl. VI, let 2, Pl. VIII, 64, 1995.
- GAZETTEER, BALUCHISTAN, Baluchistan District Gazetteer Series Vol.VII (Makran), Bombay 1906, Reprinted by Gosha-e-Adab, Quetta 1986.
- GANKOVSKY, YU V. The People of Pakistan, Translated by Igor Gavrilov, Peoples Publishing House, Labore, Year of publication not mentioned.
- GARDNER, R. W. A Primer of Proportion in the Arts of form and Music, New York, 1945.
- GEORGE LECHLER, Tree of life in Indo-European and Islamic Culture, Ars Islamica 1973, vol.4, pp. 350-378.
- GHANI, ABBAS, Sind Sword, Sindh Quarterly, Karachi, Vol. X 1982 No.1 pp. 35-41.
- GIEGER. W.D, Balucesche Texte mit usbersetzung. ZDMG, Bd. XIII.
- " " " Arms and Armour, Pakistan Archaeology No Karachi.
- GOETZ, H. Indo Islamic figural Sculpture, Ars Orientals, Vol. III 1959, pp.63-67.
- GOSWAMI, A. Glimpses of Mughal Architecture, Introduction with historical analysis by Jadunath Sarkar; text by S.K. Saraswati, Calcutta: Sri L. C. Roy at Gossain and Cod., in cooperation with the Government of India and the Government of West Bengal, 1953.

- " " " The Popular Poetry of Balochis, Royal Asiatic Society, London 1907.
- DANI, DR. AHMED HASSAN Thatta-Islamic Architecture, Institute of Islamic History Culture and Civilization, Islamabad, 1982.
- GUPTA, JOGENDRA NATHA DAS. India in the Seventeenth Century as Depicted by European Travellers, Calcutta: University of Calcutta Publications, 1916.
- DAUDPOTA, U.M, (etd.) History of Sindh (Persian Text), Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1938.
- DAWANI, MURLIDHAR. Gouri Temple, Habitat Pakistan. No.1, 1987, Karachi, pp.13-17.
- DESSAN, G. Rock Engravings (Graffiti) from Iranian Baluchistan, East and West, XI,3, 1960 pp.258-266.
- DILGER, K. The Encyclopaedia of Islam, 1st edition, Leiden & London 1913-34. 2nd Edition Leiden & London 1960.
- DOWNING, CLEMENT, History of Indian Wars. Al-Biruni, Lahore 1978 (Reprint).
- DURY, CAREL J. Art of Islam, Harry N. Abrams Inc. New York, 1970.
- DICKIE, JAMES, Allah and eternity: Mosque, Madrasas and Tombs. In George Michell (Edt.) Architecture of the Islamic world, Thames and Hudson, London, 1978.
- DEHKHUDA, ALI AKBAR. Lughat Nama, Chapkhana-e- Mauses Intesharat of Chap Danishgah-e-Tehran, 1340 (Shamsi).
- DU RY, CARL J. Art of Islam, Harry N. Abrams Inc. New York, 1970
- EASTWICK, E.B. Dry Leavs From Young Egypt, Oxford University Press, Karachi 1973 (Reprint).
- EILERS, WILHELM, Lurische Grabsteine als Zeugnisse des Weiter lebens Kassitischer Motive in der Gegenwart. Aus Der Welt Der islamischen Kunst, Berlin 1959. pp. 268-274.
- ELIOT. H.M, The History of India, Volume I (Tarikh-i-Tahiri) Karim Sons, Karachi 1976 (Reprint).
- ELLIOT, H. M. and DOWSON, J. The History of India as Told by its own Historians, 8 vols. Allahabad: Kitab Mahal Private Ltd., Lahore 1964 (a reprint of the original 1867-1877 edition).
- ENGINEER, ASGHAR ALI. The Muslim Communities of Gujrat, Ajanta Publications, Delhi 1989.
- ETTINGHAUSEN, RICHARD, Turkish Miniatures, The New American Library, New York 1965.

- " " " Symbols of life on a Tomb at Thatta, *Sindhological Studies*, Summer 1988, Institute of Sindhology, Jamshoro, pp. 5-9.
- " " " The Probable origin of Swastika, *Pakistan Archaeology* No.23, Deptt. of Archaeology, Karachi pp.289-302.
- " " " The Cross and Swastika as auspicious elements in Persian decorative Art *Journal of Central Asia-I*(1), pp.69-75.
- HASSAN, ZAFAR, *Chaukandi Tombs*, *Pakistan Quarterly* No.3. 1959 Karachi. pp 58-61.
- HAVELL. E.B, *A Handbook of Agra and the Taj*, Longmans, Green & Co. Bombay 1904
- " " " The Ancient and Medieval Architecture of India: A study of Indo-Aryan civilization, S. Chand & Co. New Delhi 1972 (Reprint).
- HENDLY, T.H, *War in Indian Art*, *Journal of Indian Art and Industry* XVII, 130. pp.8-10
- " " " Stone Carving, *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, 1, 2, 1884
- HETU RAM, RAI BAHADUR. *Translation of Biloch nama*, Compiled by Rai Bahadur Hetu Ram, C.I. E.. Suptd. of Government Printing India, Calcutta, 1995.
- HETU RAM, RAI BAHADUR LALA, *Tarikh-e-Baluchistan*, Baluchi Academy, Quetta, 3rd Edition, 1978,
- HIRSCHEN, JEAN, *Oriental Art*, Faber & Faber, London 1978.
- HOAG, JOHN D, *Islamic Architecture*, Harry N. Abrams Inc., New York, 1975.
- HOLDICH, SIR THOMAS, *Gates of India*, *Gosha-e-Adab*, Quetta 1977, (Reprint).
- HOTCHAND, SETH NAOMUL, *Memories*, Oxford University Press, Karachi, 1982 (Reprint).
- HUGHES. A.W, *The Gazetteer of Baluchistan (Makran)*, *Goshae Adab*, Quetta, Second Edition 1986.
- " " " The country of Baluchistan, George Bell, London 1877, Reprinted by Indus Publications, Karachi 1977.
- HUDUD AL ALAM, *Translated and explained by V. Minorsky*, London 1937
- IBN HARDADBEH, ABUL QASIM UBAIDULLAH, *Kitabal Masalik wa-l-mamalik* (BGA, Vol, VI), 1889.
- IBN HAUKAL, ABUL FAZL, *Kitabal Masalik wa-l-mamalik*. *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*. M.J Goeje (Ed.), Calcutta, 1862

- GRESWEL K.A.C, The Vaulting system of the Hindolla Mohal at Mandu, Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects also Indian Antiquary, XL VIII, pp 169-77 with figures and plates.
- " " " Indian Domes and Persian Origin, Asiatic Review (New Series), V, pp. 475-89 with figures and plates.
- GROSVENOR, GILBERT M (Edt.), Nomads of the World, National Geographical Society: Washington D.C. 1971.
- GUPTA, B.A, Some Rock and Tomb Incised Drawings from Baluchistan, Indian Antiquary Vol. XXXIX, 1910, pp. 180-181.
- HAIDER, AZIMUSHAN, History of Karachi, Feroz Sons, Karachi.
- HAIG, M.R, The Indus Delta Country, Indus Publications, Karachi 1973 (Reprint).
- HANSEN, WALDEMAR, The Peacock Throne, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, Great Britain, 1972.
- HARIJAN, RAICHAND, Tarikh-e-Registan (Sindhi), Sindhi Adabi Board, Karachi 1956.
- HARLE, JAMES C, Temple Gateways in South India, Bruno Carslier, Oxford 1963.
- HASHMI, HASSAN ABBAS, Some Medieval Islamic sites of the Indus Delta, Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society Vol. XL October 1992, Part IV, Karachi, pp. 411-421.
- HASSAN, ARSHAD, Monuments of Thatta, Pakistan Miscellany, Pak Publications, Karachi, 1952. pp 52-59.
- HASSAN, MUMTAZ, Chowkandi Tombs, Artistic Pakistan, Karachi Vol-I No.2 p.24-31.
- HASAN, SHAIKH KHURSHID, Chankandi the resting place of Jokia Chief, Daily Dawn, Karachi, 2nd June, 1987
- HASAN, SHAIKH KHURSHID, Grave stone from Chaukhandi, Journal of Central Asia, Vol. Xv. No.1, July 1992
- HASAN, SHAIKH KHURSHID, Origin of Chaukandi tombs, Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society, Vol. 24 (part II), 1976.
- " " " Persian Inscriptions from Manghopir, Sindhological Studies, Summer 1986. Institute of Sindhology, Jamshoro - pp.63-69.
- " " " Pictorial Representation on Muslim Tombs in Sindh, Sindh Quarterly, Karachi. Vol. I, 1975 No.1 pp. 35-43.
- HASAN, S. MAHDI, Cross as Symbol of soul, Pakistan Archaeology No.22, pp.287-292 + plates.

- KHUHRO, HAMIDA, Sindh Through the Centuries, Oxford University Press. Karachi 1981.
- KHAN, OMER KAMAL KHAN, Multan Langah Daur main (Urdu), Bazme Saqafat, Multan 1995.
- LAHORI, ABDUL HAMEED, Badshah Nama, Vol I. II. Bibliotheca Indica Series, Calcutta, 1866-68
- LAKHO, GHULAM MUHAMMAD, Sindhi Rasmul Khat jee ausar je Tarikhi pasmanzar (Sindhi), In Mehran Quarterly No.3/1987. pp.57-63.
- LAKHO, GHULAM MUHAMMAD, Samma Daur ki Ilmi aur Sarkari Ziban (Urdu), Urdu Quarterly, 2/1981, Anjuman Tarki Urdu, Karachi.
- LAMBRICK, H.T, Sindh: A General Introduction, Sindhi Adabi Board, Hyderabad 1964.
- LANEPOOLE, STANLEY, Aurangzeb, Oxford, Clarendon Press 1893.
- LASBELLA, DEPUTY COMMISSIONER, "Las Bella: Basic Facts", A copy in the Exploration Branch, Deptt. of Archaeology, Karachi.
- LASHARI, KALEEM, Evolution of stone graves in Kohistan and coastal areas of Sindh, Baluchistan, In Journal of Pakistan Archaeologists' Forum, 25-45. Vol. I, Issue 1, 1992.
- LASHARI, KALEEM, Study of Decorative Patterns and Their Evolution on stone carved graves, In Journal of Pakistan Archaeologists' Forum, Vol. 2, Issue I and II, 363, 1993.
- " " " Structural Development of Stone Carved Graves in Kohistan, In The Archaeological Review, Vol.4, Issue I & II, 275 Karachi 1995.
- LATIF. S.M, Agra, Historical and Descriptive, Central Press Company, Calcutta 1896.
- LEONE, JANE, The Architecture of Leon Batista Alberti in Ten Books ... London, 1726.
- LEVIS, DR. BERNARD, The Moghals and the Ottomans, Pakistan Quarterly Karachi Vol. VIII NO.2
- LLYOD, SETON, Ancient Near East, Thames & Hudson, Nonyich 1911.
- LOMAZZO, GIOV. PAOLO, Trattato dell arte della pittura (1590), 2nd ed., 1844
- LUNDKHAWR, ALI MOHAMMAD, Masoleum of Mian Ghulam Shah Kalhora at Hyderabad, Sindhological Studies, Winter 1988, Institute of Sindhology, Jamshoro pp. 41-52.
- MAGRINI, A, Memorie intorno Andrea Palladio, Pana, 1845.

- IRVINE, W., The Army of the Indian Moghals, London 1903. Reprinted New Delhi 1962.
- ISTWANI, MOTILAL, Risalo of Shah Abdul Karim, Studies in Islam July 1970, Institute of Islamic Studies, New Delhi.
- JAHANGIR, Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, ("Memoirs of Jahangir" from the first to the twelfth year of his reign) Translated by Alexander Rogers, edited by Henry Beveridge. 2 vols; Oriental Translation Fund, N. S. XIX and XXII, London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1909-1914.
- JISKANI, L., Darya Khan. Politician and War Strategist. Grassroots Vol V. No.1 & 2 - 1981. Pakistan Study Centre, Jamshoro. pp.93-101.
- JOYO, MOHAMMAD IBRAHIM Shah, Sachal, Sami, Hik Mutaalo (Sindhi). Sindhi Adibanji Sahkari Sangat Ltd. Hyderabad 1978.
- JOKHIO, BASHIER AHMED, Kaberistan Chaukandi, asal Haqiqat, Daily Jang (Urdu), Karachi, 28th March, 1990.
- JUNEJO, ABDUL JABBAR (Edt), Larjo Mutaliyo (Sindhi), Sindhi Adabi Board, Jamshoro 1991.
- JUNEJO, ABDUL JABBAR Sindhi Adab ji Mukhtasar Tarikh (Sindhi), Institute of Sindhology, Jamshoro, 1983.
- KANBOH, SALEH, Aml-e-Saleh. 2 Vols, Urdu Translation by Nazir Hussain Zaidi, Majlis Tarki Adab Lahore, 1971.
- KAZI, I.I, Shah Abdul Latif: An Introduction to his Art, Sindhi Adabi Board, Hyderabad 1973.
- KHAN, DR. AHMED NABI, Evolution and Development of Islamic funerary Memorial Architecture in Pakistan, Papers of International Symposium on Islamic Architectural Heritage of Pakistan, South Asia and Central Asia, Deptt. of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Pakistan - February, 1993.
- KHAN, KHAFL, Muntakhab-u-lu bab, 3 Vols. Urdu Translation by Mehmood Ahmed Farooqi, Nafees Academy, Karachi, 1963.
- KHAN, KHUDADAD, Lub-e-Tarikh Sindh (Persian), Sindhi Adabi Board, Hyderabad, 1959.
- KHAN, MUSTAED, Maaser-e-Alamgiri, Urdu Translation by Fida Ali Talib, Usmania University Hyderabad Deccan 1932.
- KHAN, SYED AHMED, Asar-e-Sanadeed (Urdu), 3 Vols. Edt. by Khaleeq Anjum, Urdu Academy, Delhi 1990.
- KHAN, SAMSAMUL DAULAH SHAHNAWAZ, Maaser ul Umrah (Urdu Translation), Markazi Urdu Board, Lahore 1968.

- MOYAL, MAURICE, The Art of Turkish Embroidery, Islamic Quarterly, vol. IV, 1958, The Islamic Cultural Centre, London, pp.162-167.
- MUGHUL, DR. YAKUB, Foreign Relations of Sultan Bahadur Shah of Gujerat with special Reference to the Portuguese and Turkey, In Grassroots, Vol. V, No.1 & 2, 1981, Pakistan Study Centre, Jamshoro, pp.80-92.
- MUKERJEE, RADHAKAMAL, The Culture and Art of India, Fredrick A. Prayer, New York 1959.
- MUSSAFER, MOHAMMAD SIDDIQUE, Tarikh-e-Sindh, Arghun Turkhan (Sindhi), Institute of Sindhology, Jamshoro 1985.
- MIRZA, KAZIM RAZA BEG, Chaukandi: Karachi ka kadeem aur Tarikhi Kaberistan, In Daily Jang (Urdu), Karachi, 28 March, 13, 1990.
- MURAIN, B, A Contemporary Dutch Chronicle of Mughal India, Sushil Gupta, Calcutta 1957.
- NADEEM, ABDUL GHAFAR (Edt.), Sibi Nama (Urdu), Administration of Sibi Division, 1993.
- NADVI, S.A.Z., The use of cannon in Muslim India, In Islamic Culture, 12 (1938), Hyderabad Deccan pp.405-18.
- NADVI, SYED NAJEEB ASHRAF (Edt.), Buddhist Architecture of Western India, Agam Kala Prakashan, Delhi. 1981.
- NAQVI, SYED MANZOOR, Sindh jee Madniyat (Sindhi), Sindhi Adabi Board, Hyderabad 1978.
- NASEER, GUL KHAN, Tarikhe Baluchistan, Hisa Awal wa Doyam (Urdu), Kalat Publishers, Quetta, 1979.
- NASEER, MIR GUL KHAN, Baluchi Razmia Shaeree (Urdu), Baluchi Academy, Quetta year?
- NASYANI, SYED TAHIR MOHAMMAD, Tarikh-e-Tahiri (Sindhi Translation), Sindhi Adabi Board, Jamshoro 1988.
- NATH, R., India as seen by William finch (1603-11), The Historical Research Documentation Programe, Jaipur 1990.
- NATH, R., History of Decorative Art in Mughal Architecture, Motilal Banarsidas, Delhi, 1976
- " " " The Art of Chanderi, Ambika Publications, New Delhi. 1979
- " " " Indo-Muslim Architecture, An illustrated Glosary, The Historical Research Documentation Programme, Jaipur 1986

- MANDESLO, JOHN ALBERT DE, *The Travels of John Albert de Mandelslo.* (In Olearius, A., *Voyages and Travels of the Holstein Ambassadors,....*) Translated by John Davies. London: Starkey & Basset, 1669.
- MANRIQUE, SEBASTIEN, *Travels of Fray Sebastien Manrique*, Translated by C. Eckford Luard and H. Hosten, 2 Vols. Oxford: The Hakluyt Society, 1927.
- MANUCCI, NICCOLO, *Storia do Mogor*, Translated by William Irvine, 4 vols. First 3 vols. Calcutta: Edition Indian, 1965-1966 (a reprint of the 1907 edition); vol. 4, London: John Murray, 1908.
- MARI, KHUDA BAKHSH, *Searchlights on Balochis & Baluchistan*, Royal Book Co, Karachi, 1974.
- MARI WALLA, C.L., *Commerce of Sindh in Shah's Poetry*, In *Sindhological Studies*, Summer 1980, Institute of Sindhology, Jamshoro pp.64-77.
- MARI, SHER MOHAMMAD, *Baluchi kuhnu Shahree (Baluchi)*, Baluchi Academy, Quetta, 1970.
- MASSON, CHARLES, *Narrative of various Journeys in Beluchisan, the Punjab and Kalat*, Richard Bently, London, 1843, 1844.
- MAYER, T.J.L., *An English Baloch Dictionary*, Punjab Government Press, Fort Munro, 1899.
- " " " *Baloch Classics* by Gulam Mohammad Khan, Mazari and various other authors, Punjab Government Press, Fort Munro, 1900.
- MEERAK, YOUSAF, *Tarikh-e-Mazhar Shahjehani*, Sindhi Adabi Board, Hyderabad 1962.
- MICHELL, GEORGE, *Architecture of the Islamic World*, Thames & Hudson, London 1978.
- MILANESI, *Le Letter di Michelanglo Buonarroti*, Florence, 1875.
- MILES, GOERGE C, *Inscriptions on the Minaret of Saveh Iran*, *Studies in Islamic Art and Architecture*, American University Press, Cairo 1965, pp.163-178.
- MIRZA ANIS, *Pakistan Jewellery: Yesterday and Today*, *Pakistan Quarterly*, No. 1 vol. XI Karachi, pp.18-21.
- MOCKLER, E, *The Origin of Baluch Race*, *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol.64, 1895, pp.30-36.
- MORTENSEN, IGNEDEMANT, *Women After Death: Aspects of a study on Iranian Nomadic cemeteries*, In *Women in Islamic Societies*, Etd. BoutasCurzon Press, London 1983 pp 13-26.

- POPE, ARTHUR UPHAM, Persian Architecture, George Braziller, New York 1965
- POPE, ARTHUR UPHAM, Survey of Persian Art and Architecture, Vol II, III & IV Manafzadeh Group, Tehran 1964
- POSTANS, T, Personal Observations on Sindh, Indus Publications Karachi 1973 (Reprint)
- " " " Cutch, Random Sketches, Smith Elder & Co. Cornhill, London 1839
- POTINGER, LT. HENRY, Travels in Baluchistan and Sindh, Indus Publications Karachi 1986 (Reprint)
- QANI, ALI SHER, Tuhfatul Karam (Sindhi Translation), Sindhi Adabi Board, Hyderabad 1976
- QUDOOSI, AYJAZ-UL-HAQ, Tarikh-e-Sindh (Urdu), 3 Vols. Markazi Urdu Board, Lahore 1976
- QURESHI, LH, Administration of the Mughul Empire, Karachi University, Karachi 1966
- " " " The Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, Lahore 1944
- RASHDI, SYED HUSSAMUDDIN (Edt.), Makli Nameh (Sindhi Translation with extensive notes), Sindhi Adabi Board, Hyderabad 1986
- " " " (Edt) Makalat ul Shura (Sindhi), Sindhi Adabi Board, Hyderabad 1976
- " " " Galihyoon Goth Wannan joon (Sindhi), Anjuman Tarikh-e-Sindh, Karachi 1981
- " " " Mir Muhammad Masoom Bukhari (Sindhi), Sindhi Adabi Board, Hyderabad 1979
- " " " Tazkira-e-Amir Khani (Sindhi) Sindhi Adabi Board, Hyderabad 1961
- RAVERTY, H.G, Notes on Afghanistan and part of Baluchistan, goeographical, ethnographical and historical, 1880, Gosha-e-Adab, Quetta 1979 (Reprint)
- " " " The Mehran of Sindh, Sang-e-Meel Publications, Lahore 1979 (Reprint)
- RAWSON, P.S, The Indian Sword, Aves Publishing, New York 1969
- REHMAN, PARESI. S.M. Islamic Calligraphy in in Medieval India. University Press Ltd., Bangladesh 1979.
- RITER, CF, Persian and Turkish Architectural Decoration. Oriental Arts (New Series) XV, 3, 1969. pp.194-200
- RAJ ANAND, Farhag-e-jamia farsi, chapkhana-e-Haidri, kaitab firoshi-e-Khayyamm Iran 1343 (Shamsi)

- " " " History of Sultanate Architecture, Abhinav Publications, New Delhi. 1978
- NIZAMANI, MOULVI NOOR MOHAMMAD, Sindh ji Tarikh (Sindh), Institute of Sindhology, Jamshoro 1988
- NIZAMUDDIN. MIRZA, Tabqat-e-Akbari,
- NIZAM AL-MULK, Siasat Namah, Ch. Schafer (Edt.), Paris, 1891
- ORLICH, CAPTAIN LEOPOLD VON, Travels in India, including Sindh and the Punjab, 2Vols, USHA Jain, New Delhi 1985 (Reprint).
- OTTO DORN, KATHARINA. Turkish Grab-Steine mit figuren Reliefs keelnasien, Ars Orientalis, vol.13, 1959, pp.63- 76.
- OLIVER, EDWARD O, Across the Border, Pathan and Biloch, Capman and Hall Ltd. London 1890
- PALLADIO, ANDRA, Quattro libri dell archetettura, Issac ware (Tr), 1738
- PANHWAR, M.H, Chronological Dictionary of Sindh, Institute of Sindhology, Jamshoro 1983,
- " " " Historical Maps of Sindh 1600-1843 AD, Grassroots, vol.IV, No 1, Spring 1980, Pakistan Study Centre, Jamshoro pp.39-76
- " " " Sindh-Cutch Relations, Sindh Archives Lectures Series, Karachi 1980
- " " " Heroic Struggle of Sindh against feudalism, 1500 AD to 1843 AD, Sindhological Studies, Summer, 1979. Institute of Sindhology, Jamshoro pp 26-67
- PARSON, J, A Note on Musalman Tomb, The Indian Antiquity Vol.XXVII, 1898 pp.136-140
- PHULPOTO, ALI NAWAZ, The fabulous Birds and Winged Animals as popular symbols in Asiatic Art, Sindhological Studies, September 1986, Institute of Sindhology, Jamshoro pp.5-15
- PIACENTINI. V.F, The places of the dead, Daily Dawn, Karachi, Wednesday April 5, VI. 1995
- PITHAWALA, MANEK B, An Introduction to Sindh, Sindh Observer Press Karachi 1951
- POLO, MARCO, The book of ser Marco polo, The Venetian, concerning the Kindoms and Marvels of the east, Colonel H. Yule (Tr.) Revision by H. Cordeir, London 1871, 1903

- SIDDIQUI, M.H., History of the Arghun & Tarkhans of Sindh (1507-1593), Insitute of Sindhology, Jamshoro 1972
- SILVA, CHIARA ANTO NINE, Preliminary Notes on the excavation of the Necropolises found in West Pakistan, East and West, Vol. 14, No 1-2, 1963 pp.13-25
- SMYTH, J.M, Gazetteer of the Province of Sindh, Vol.I, Karachi District, Government Central Press, Bombay 1927
- SOLOMON, W.E. GLADSTONE, The Art and Colour of Gwalior, Islamic Culture (July 1933), Hyderabad Deccan pp. 380-394
- SORLEY, H.T, Shah Abdul Latif of Bhit, Sindhi Kitab Ghar, Karachi 1989 (Reprint)
- " " " Gazetteer of the former Province of Sindh, Government Press, Karachi 1968
- STONE, GEORGE CAMERON, A Glassary of the Construction, Decoration and Use of Arms and Armor, Jack Brussell, New York 1934
- STRABON, Geographika, XV, 2, 14; XV, 1, 10;
- STONE, IRVING, I Mrichelangelo, Sculptor: an autobiography through letters. Fontana Books, London 1965
- TALBOT-RICE, TAMARA, The Seljuks in in Asia Minor, Thames and Hudson, London 1961
- TAVERNIER, JEAN BAPTISTE, Travels in India, Translated by V. Ball. London: Macmillan 1889
- THOMAS, R. HUGHES, Memoires of Sindh, 2 Vols, Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government No. XVII (New Series), Karim Sons, Karachi 1979 (Reprint)
- THOMINE, J. SOURDEL, Animals in Arts, Encyclopadia of Islam, New Ed. E.J. Brill, Leiden 1979 Vol. IV pp.309-11
- THORNTON, CAPT, E.A, Gazetteer of lbe countries adjacent to India on the north west, including Sind, Afghanistan, Belochislan, the Punjab and the neighbouring states, William H. Allen & Co. London 1844
- TONYO, MOHAMMAD BACHAL, Legacy of Bhitai Shah Abul Latif, Published by Self, Karachi 1992
- TIMOFIEWILCH, W, Art Veneta XIII-XIV, 1959
- USMANI, MOLVI IHTRAMUL HAQ SHAGUL Sahifa-e-Khushnaveesan (Urdu), Tarki-e-Urdu Bureau, New Delhi 1987
- VOGEL, J.P, Tombs at Hinidan in Lasbella, Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report 1902-3, Calcutta, pp.213-217.

- RICE, TAMARA, TALBOT, *The Seljuks in Asia Minor*, Thames and Hudson, London, 1961
- RISALO of Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai, Education Department, Bombay, 1900
- SADARANGANI, H.I. *Persian Poets of Sindh*, Sindhi Adabi Board, Hyderabad 1956
- SAEEGH, SAMEERUL, *Fun Islami (Arabic)*, Darul Maarfa, Beirut, 1988
- SAFADI, YASIN HAMID, *Islamic Calligraphy*, Thames & Hudson, London 1978
- SAKSENA, B.P., *History of Shah Jahan of Dehli*, Allahabad 1932
- SAMANI, AL, *Kitab al Ansab*, Gibb Memorial Series, London 1912
- SAMMO, SALEH MOHAMMAD YAR MOHAMMAD, *Malir ja Ba Qadimi Qabrستان (Sindhi)*, Naeen Zindagi, October 1962, Hyderabad, pp.13-19
- SARBAZI, ASHRAF, *Mukhtasari Azd Dastan Mir Hamal*, MS. with Aqai Mohammad Hussain of Chahbar.
- SARKAR, JADUNATH, *Studies in Mughal India*, London Longmans, Green, 1920
- " " " *Anecdotes of Aurangzaib*, Calcutta: M.C. Sarkar & Sons, 1912
- " " " *History of Aurangzaib*, 5 vols. Vols. 1-4, Calcutta: M.C. Sarkar & Sons, 1924
- " " " *Mughal Administration (First Series)*, Patna University Readership Lectures, 1920, Calcutta: M.C. Sarkar & Sons, 1920
- " " " *Mughal Administration (Second Series)*, Patna University Readership Lectures, 1921, Patna: Patna University Press, 1925
- SEISTANI, ERIJ AFSHAR, *Chahbar wa Daryae Pars (Persian)* *Intesharat-e-Siddiqui*, Zahidan 1372
- SEN, SURENDRANATH (Edt.), *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, Indian Record Series, National Archives of India, Delhi 1949
- SHACKLE, CHRISTOPHER, *Sassi Punhun of Hashim Shah*, Vanguard Books Ltd. Lahore 1985
- SHAFI, MOULVI MOHAMMAD, *Sanadid-e-Sindh*, Nava-e-Waqt Printers, Lahore *
- SHAIKH, MOHAMMAD SOOMAR, *Sindh ja Zeewar (Sindhi)*, Institute of Sindhology, Jamshoro 1989
- SHAN, HARNAM SINGH, *Sassui Punho. (Sindhi)*, Sahtia Academy, New Delhi 1970
- SHARMA, SRI RAM, *The Religious policy of the Mughal Emperors*, Munshirau Mansharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd. New Delhi 1988

- WALI, KHAN SAHIB MAULAVI ABDUL, A Sketch of the Life of Sarmad, Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, N.S. Vol. XX (1924), article No. II, pp. 111-122.
- WENSICK, A. J., Tree and Birds as cosmological symbols in Western Asia, Amsterdam, 1921
- WHEELER, J.TOLBOYS, A History of the English Settlements in India, Curzon Press, London 1972
- " " " India under the Muslim Rule, Cosmo Publications, Delhi, 1975
- WILBER, DONALD N, Architecture of Islamic Iran, Princeton University Press, Princeton 1955
- WILLIAM, L.F. RUSHBROOK, The Black Hills: Kutch, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London 1958
- WILDON, EVA, Islamic Designs, British Museum Publications, London 1988
- WOOD, JOHN, Journey to the sources of the Oxus, Oxford University Press, Karachi 1976 (Reprint)
- WITTKOWER, RUDOLF, Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism, Alec Tiranti, London 1962
- YACOPINO, FELICCIA, Threadlines Pakistan, The Ministry of Industries, Govt. of Pakistan 1977
- ZAJADACZ HASTENRATH, SALOME, Choukandi Tombs. Sindhological Studies, Summer 1981. Institute of Sindhology, Jamshoro pp.55-69
- " " " Choukandigraber, Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH. Wiesbaden 1978
- ZIMMER, H. Myths and Symbols in Indian Art & Civilization, Bollingen Series VI. Pantheon Books 1946
- ZOFA AMEISENOWA, The tree of life in Jewish Iconography, Journal of the Warburg Institute 1938-39, Vol2, pp.318-332

* Year of Publication not given

The presence of beautifully carved sandstone graves, in and around Karachi had been a topic of much interest. Unfortunately the enormous presence of these graveyards, within the districts of Lasbella, Karachi, Thatta and Dadu have failed to augment any in-depth research in the past. People kept speculating about these as graves of the Greek Soldiers, others believed these to be the resting place of martyrs of the Arab Armies, who invaded Sindh in the 8th Century. In recent past a few serious attempts were made and quite detailed studies appeared, but the major questions still remained unanswered.

Absence of written sources about the tribal histories place more emphasis on the archaeological and anthropological work, thus the author with his intense field work added a new dimension to the subject, bringing all basic information to develop a historic narrative, that is not only very informative but interesting also. In archaeological investigations author has proved his mettle in this study also, by breaking new grounds, applying new tools and creating novel methods.

He has in-depth knowledge of the tribes inhabiting this region, and understands their peculiar behavior, which culminated in creation of these unique and richly carved graves.

My long standing involvement in the field work in the present study, places me at vintage to acknowledge that Dr. Lashari has comprehensively covered the subject and made his mark. I wish that he dedicates more time to write down the regional history and the folklore that helped to shape up the pre-colonial Sindh.

Dr. Asma Ibrahim



Sindh Archives
Information & Archives Department
Government of Sindh

ISBN: 978-969-9310-06-5



9 789699 310065 >

Price Rs. 600